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ORIGINAL LETTERS,

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LONDON:
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A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

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Short-hand Cypher of King Charles the 1st, with an alphabetical Key above. From the original, with his own Signature and Seal, preserved in the Harleian M.S. 6988.

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY;

INCLUDING

NUMEROUS ROYAL LETTERS:

FROM AUTOGRAPHS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

AND

ONE OR TWO OTHER COLLECTIONS.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

BY

HENRY ELLIS, F. R. S. SEC. S. A.

KEEPER OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

SECOND SERIES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

HARDING AND LEPARD, PALL-MALL EAST.

MDCCCXXVII.

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LETTERS
OF
THE REIGN OF
CHARLES THE SECOND.

FEW Letters are here given of the Reign of CHARLES the SECOND: but those few will be found important. They chiefly concern the re-admission of the Jews amongst us as a People; the Ravage of the Plague of 1665; and the Conduct of the Scottish Covenanters.

In the former Series the KING's *Protestant death* was recorded. In this, Father Hudleston's Relation is preserved of the administering the last rites to him of the *Romish Church*.

Among the King's Pamphlets in the Museum, there is a Tract consisting of two Letters of King Charles the Second when Prince, one to his Sister, the other to his brother-in-law the Prince of Orange, printed in 1642. There can be no reason for doubting their authenticity. They were probably printed to set off the Prince, who was then not twelve years old. The Letter to his Sister is here given.

"To the hands of the Lady Marie, Princesse of Aurania, these present.

"Most Royal Sister,

"Methinks, although I cannot enjoy that former happiness which I was wont in the fruition of your society, being barred those joys by the parting waves; yet I cannot forget the kindness I owe unto so dear a sister as not to write, also expecting the like salutation from you, that thereby (although a while dissevered) we may reciprocally understand of each other's welfare. I could heartily, and with a fervent devotion, wish your return, were it not to lessen your delights in your loyal spouse the Prince of Orange, who as I conceived by his last Letter, was as joyful for your presence, as we sad and mourning for your absence.

"My Father is very much disconsolate and troubled, partly for my Royal mother's and your absence, and partly for the disturbances of this Kingdom. I could wish and daily pray that there might be a conjunct and perfect uniting between my Father's Majesty and his Parliament, that there might be a perfect concordance with them in the subject, to the removal of the grievances of the Country, and the renewing of our decayed joys. For during the variance betwixt them, this Kingdom must of necessity lie under most palpable danger through fear of foreign or domestic enemies, they having now the lamps of the all discerning Parliament darkened, through the inconvenience of the many combustions now on foot.

"As for the Militia of the Kingdom, it is not yet determined upon nor settled; which of itself is one of the principal fortitudes wherewith this Kingdom is adorned.

"Ireland was never in more danger than now of late, there being many Towns in the Province of Asper taken by the rebels; others indangered. But the last intelligence presented us with better news, wherein we understand of a fatal overthrow given the rebel's party, to their loss of ten thousand men; wherein O'Neal was supposed to be taken prisoner, Colonel Brunslow and divers other of their Officers likewise following him in his sad misfortune.

"Dear Sister, we are, as much as we may, merry; and, more than we would, sad, in respect we cannot alter the present distempers of these turbulent times.

"My Father's resolution is now for York; where he intends to reside to see the event or sequel to these bad inprospitious beginnings; whither you may direct your Letter. Thus much desiring your comfortable answer to these my sad Lines, I rest

Royston, March 9,
1642.

Your loving Brother,
CAROL. Princeps."

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ETC.

LETTER CCCIX.

Mr. Jo. Greenhalgh to his friend Mr. Thomas Crompton. A Visit to the Jewish Synagogue established in London.

[MS. LANSD. 988. fol. 184 b.]

* * The exact time when the Jews were suffered to return to England, as a People, has been disputed.

Burnet expressly says, that a company of Jews was brought over into England by Oliver Cromwell, and that he gave them leave to build a Synagogue.^a Tovey, in his *Anglia Judaica*, denies this, and states upon the authority of the Rabbi Netto, who, in his time, was the Governor of the Synagogue, that even so late as 1663 the whole number of the Jews in London did not exceed twelve. He expressly adds that King Charles the Second was their Introducer.

The Letter here given to the reader lends its assistance to clear this dispute.

It certainly shows that in 1662 the Jews were existing in London, with a Synagogue built after the fashion of their own worship; that the congregation which the writer saw assembled, consisted of a hundred Jews besides women; that they were not people who appeared as strag-

^a Hist. of his own Time, vol. i. p. 71.

gling sojourners, but gentlemen and merchants, rich in apparel even to the wearing of jewels, and that they had not one mechanic-person amongst them. It expressly states that in Oliver's time the Jews had celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles in booths, upon the southern side of the Thames; and has a direct reference to their withdrawing themselves as much as possible from public notice upon the Restoration of King Charles the Second, evidently from the circumstance that the Act for their exile had never been formally repealed.

The evidence of this Letter too is to a certain extent corroborated by two entries upon the Journals of the House of Commons; one, in 1660, representing the Jews as a people existing amongst us without protection; the other, in 1670, ordering an Inquiry to be made upon what terms they were permitted to reside in England.

It is evident then that Cromwell brought them back.

"Monday, 17th Dec. 1660. Mr. Hollis represents to this House an Order made by the Lords of H. Majesty's Privy Council, and specially recommended to this House for their Advice therein, touching Protection for the Jews: which was read.

"Ordered, that this business be taken into consideration tomorrow morning." Journ. H. Com. vol. viii. p. 209.

"Lunæ 6 die Feb. 1670. Ordered, that a Committee be appointed, to inquire into the Causes of the Growth of Popery; to prepare and bring in a Bill to prevent; and also to inquire touching the Number of the Jews and their Synagogues, and upon what terms they are permitted to have their residence here; and report it, with their opinions, to the House." Ibid. vol. ix. p. 198.

But we have evidence which is still closer to the point.

Thomas Violet, a goldsmith of London, in a Petition to the King and Parliament dated December the 18th. 1660, which was printed in 1661, settles the question.

Cromwell, it will be remembered, after the arrival of Menasseh Ben Israel in England, summoned by his Letters the two Lords Chief Justices and the Lord Chief Baron, seven Citizens of London (including the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs) and fourteen of the most noted Preachers, to attend him at Whitehall Dec. 4th. 1655, there to debate two questions before him and his Council; first whether it were lawful, at all, to readmit the Jews; secondly (if it should be thought lawful) upon what terms to admit them. Hugh Peters, with some other divines, were afterwards added to the number of the debaters.

The Lawyers were not against their return; and the citizens were somewhat indifferent, but the preachers assailed each other furiously with texts of Scripture, and spent so much time in turning over their bibles for proofs that they passed four days in the discussion; till one of them

having concluded a senseless Argument with a Prayer, which he said was conceived by the godly Beza, Cromwell grew tired, and told them with some warmth, that they did not answer his expectations. "He hoped, he said, to have had some clearing of the Case, *as to his CONSCIENCE*; but instead of that, they had made the matter more doubtful to him and his Council than it was before: wherefore that he might do nothing rashly, he desired no more from them than the assistance of their prayers that the Lord would be pleased so to direct him as he might do every thing for His Glory, and the good of the Nation; and thereupon dismissed the Assembly."^a

^a The following official notice of this Conference in the *Mercurius Politicus* from Dec. 20th. to Dec. 27th. 1655, is worth perusal.

Whitehall, Decemb. 18. The Conference concerning the Proposals about the admission of the Jewes ended without any further adjournment. The Proposals are as followeth;

A Translate of the Proposals of Manasseh Ben Israel, &c. These are the Graces and Favours which in the name of my Hebrew Nation, I Manasseh Ben Israel do request of your most serene Highness, whom God make prosperous, and give happy success to in all your Enterprises, as your humble Servant doth wish and desire.

1. The first thing which I desire of your Highness, is, that our Hebrew Nation may be received and admitted into this puissant Commonwealth, under the protection and safeguard of your Highness, even as the natives themselves. And for greater security in time to come, I doe supplicate your Highness to cause an Oath to be given (if you shall think it fit) to all the heads and generals of Arms to defend us upon all occasions.

2. That it will please your Highness to allow us publicke Synagogues, not only in England, but also in all other places under the power of your Highness; and to observe in all things our Religion as we ought.

3. That we may have a place or Cemiterie, out of the Town to interr our dead, without being troubled by any.

4. That we may bee permitted to traffick freely in all sorts of merchandise, as others.

5. That (to the end those who shall come may be for the utility of the people of this Nation, and may live without bringing prejudice to any, and not give offence) your most serene Highness will make choice of a person of quality, to inform himself of, and receive the Passports of those who shall come in, who upon their arrivall shall certifie him thereof, and oblige themselves by oath to maintain fealty to your Highness in this Land.

6. And (to the intent they may not be troublesome to the Judges of the Land, touching the contests and differences that may arise betwixt those of our Nation) that your most serene Highness will give license to the head of the Synagogue to take with him two Almoners of his Nation, to accord and determine all the differences and process, conformable to the Mosaick Law, with liberty nevertheless to appeal from their sentence to the civil Judges; the sum wherein the parties shall be condemned being first deposited.

7. That in case there have been any Laws against our Jewish Nation, they may in the first place and before all things be revoked, to the end that by this means we may remain with the greater security under the safeguard and protection of your most serene Highness.

Which things your most serene Highness granting to us, we shall always remain most affectionately obliged to pray to God for the prosperity of your Highness, and

Violet expressly states in his Petition that, after this Debate, Cromwell and his Council gave a *DISPENSATION* to a number of Jews to settle in London, that they were suffered to exercise their religion, that they were in reality invited in by Thurloe and protected by Cromwell, and that the greater part (answering to the description of the persons mentioned in the present Letter) were "Portugals or Spaniards" by birth.

This fixes the time of the Re-admission of the Jews to the opening of the year 1656.

Violet further states that it was Cromwell's intention to have made them farmers of the Customs and Excise, and to have given them naturalization.

At the very moment when Cromwell's Conference was held, the war between the Swedes and the Poles had driven a large number of the Jews who were resident at Cracow, to Hamburg: and the circumstance of a temporal Prince arising who was inclined to encourage their settlement in his country, appears to have attracted their most serious attention.

Raguenet, in his History of Cromwell's life, details the particulars of a very extraordinary fact; that, much about the time of Menasseh's coming into England, the Asiatic Jews sent hither also the Rabbi Jacob Ben Azahel with several others of his nation to make private inquiry whether Cromwell was not that Messiah whom they had long expected; and that under pretence of viewing the Hebrew Books and Manuscripts belonging to the University of Cambridge, they took the opportunity to ascertain amongst Cromwell's relations at Huntingdon whether any of his ancestors were of Jewish origin. The real object of their errand becoming known, and being unlikely to suit the Saints of the day, Cromwell is said to have dismissed them hastily. The whole passage from Raguenet's History will be found in the Note below.*

of your illustrious and most sage Council, that it will please him to give happy success to all the Undertaking of your most serene Highness. Amen.

"An ADVERTISEMENT.

The Reader is to take notice, That his Highness at severall Meetings, fully heard the Opinions of the Ministers touching the said Proposals, expressing himself thereupon with Indifferency and moderation, as one that desired only to obtain satisfaction in a matter of so high and religious a concernment, there being many glorious promises recorded in the holy Scripture concerning the calling and conversion of the Jews to the Faith of Christ. But nothing at all hath been concluded as to their admission; his Highness proceeding in this, as in all other Affairs, with good advice, and mature deliberation." Merc. Polit. Dec. 20 to Dec. 27. 1655.

* "Enfin sa réputation s'accrut de telle sorte, que les Juifs qui étoient en Asie ayant appris toutes les grandes choses qu'on disoit de lui, par la voix de la Renommée qui les grossissoit toujours de plus en plus à proportion qu'elle les portoit plus loin, résolurent d'envoyer quelqu'uns des leurs en Angleterre, pour s'informer si il n'étoit point

Whatever Cromwell's ultimate intentions may have been in favor of the Jews, they were frustrated by his death. To say nothing of ancient prejudice, he had mercantile jealousy to contend with; and the sort of Return to which the Jews had submitted, having made them available for the purposes of his policy, it is not unlikely that Cromwell would have done nothing more to serve them.

le Libérateur qu'ils attendoient, et qu'ils ont toujours cru trouver dans tous les Capitaines extraordinaires qui ont paru au Monde depuis leur dispersion.

" Ils choisirent, pour cette Commission, le célèbre Jacob Ben-Azahel qui eut ordre de prendre avec lui, en passant par la Bohême, David Ben Eléazar Rabin de leur Synagogue de Prague qui savoit toutes les langues de l'Europe en perfection, et le Rabl Manassé-Ben Israël d'Amsterdam qui leur devoit servir de conducteur.

" Lors qu'ils furent arrivés à Londres, pour cacher le véritable sujet de leur voyage, ils ne montrèrent d'abord qu'une Lettre de Créance touchant l'établissement d'un Bureau pour le Commerce du Levant dont ils faisoient espérer de grands avantages aux Anglois; la Chambre des Directeurs du Négoce les reçut avec joye, et leurs propositions y furent très-favorablement écoutées; mais comme on ne pouvoit les recevoir sans introduire une nouvelle sorte de Religion dans la République, on les renvoya à Cromwel qui avoit seul l'autorité de le faire en qualité de Protecteur.

" Cromwel leur fit, de même, un très-bon accueil en considération du Commerce qui pouvoit devenir plus florissant en Angleterre par leur moyen. Il leur accorda même une Audience secrète qu'ils lui demandèrent, dans laquelle ces deux Juifs lui ayant témoigné combien ils estimoient la fameuse Bibliothèque du Collège de Cambridge, Cromwel qui ne pouvoit pardonner à cette Université le zèle qu'elle avoit fait paroître pour le feu Roy, promit à ces étrangers de leur en vendre tous les Manuscrits avec les autres volumes qu'ils trouveroient les plus rares.

" Ils allèrent donc, encore une fois, pour revoir les Livres et prendre un mémoire de leur nombre, et de leur qualité, ce qu'ils firent en présence des Bibliothécaires qui les leur montrèrent, et qui crurent qu'ils n'avoient point d'autre dessein en cela que de satisfaire leur curiosité, comme ils le témoignèrent. Mais au lieu de revenir droit à Londres, ils prirent occasion de ce petit voyage pour se transporter, suivant le principal dessein de leur commission, dans la Province de Huntington d'où les parens de Cromwel étoient originaires, afin de s'informer de sa Naissance, et apprendre de ceux qui pouvoient le mieux connoître sa Généalogie, s'il ne se trouvoit point quelqu'un parmi ses Ancestres qui fût sorti du sang des Hébreux.

" Quelques précautions qu'ils prissent pour rendre secrète cette recherche insensée, ils ne purent si-bien faire qu'elle ne fût découverte; la nouvelle s'en publia aussi-tôt dans Londres où l'on en fit des railleries piquantes contre le Protecteur qui en conceut un ressentiment si vif, que non seulement il refusa à ces malheureux Juifs la liberté du Trafic, et le traité de la Bibliothèque du Collège de Cambridge qu'il leur avoit fait espérer, mais de plus il leur déclara avec beaucoup de chaleur, dans une Audience qu'il rendit exprès très-solennelle, que la République et lui faisoient profession d'adorer un Dieu crucifié; et qu'ils ne vouloient avoir aucun commerce avec eux qu'ils regardoient comme ses plus irréconciliables ennemis; et en même tems il les congédia, sans leur vouloir permettre de répondre le moindre mot.

" Mais de quelque artifice que Cromwel se servit, pour persuader au peuple que le zèle qu'il avoit pour la Religion Chrétienne avoit été le motif de sa rupture avec les Juifs; cela n'empêcha pas que tout le monde n'apprit que son seul ressentiment en avoit été la cause, par le moyen d'un libelle qui courut alors, intitulé, '*Cromwel Lion de la Tribu de Juda*,' dans lequel ce que je viens de dire de la députation des Synagogues d'Asie et d'Allemagne étoit rapporté avec toutes les réflexions fines, et toutes les railleries délicates qui se pouvoient faire, sur cette matière, contre le Protecteur." Histoire d'Olivier Cromwel, par Raguenet. 12°. Par. 1691. p. 290—293.

MR. CROMPTON,

WHEN any thing ever occurred in my reading any where concerning the manner of the Jews divine worship (though since the Destruction of their City and Temple) I have always thought it worth the seeing of a Christian ; at least for once where it could be obtained. And amidst other fashions of Religions which my curiosity hath prompted me with a desire to see in this City, having been at the meetings and worship of Papists, of Anabaptists, of Quakers, of Fifth Monarchie men, and I considered and concluded with myself, that there must in reason need be some number of Jews in this City, though those only merchants, and that consequently they must have some place of meeting together for their divine worship. Whereupon, as occasion offered me to converse with any that were likely to inform me, I inquired hereof, but could not of a long time hear or learn whether or where any such thing was. But lately having a desire to spend some of my time here in learning the Hebrew tongue, and inquiring of some one that professed to teach it, I lighted upon a learned Jew with a mighty bush beard, a great Rabbi as I found him afterward to be, with whom after once or twice being together, I fell into conference and acquaintance ; for he could speak Latin, and some little broken English, having as he told me been two years in London. He said he was an Hebrew of the He-

brews of the Tribe of Levi, and his name (I had liked to have said his Christian name) Samuel Levi. He told me his own mother is yet living, and dwelleth at this present in the City of Jerusalem, from whence he had received ten several Letters within these two years. For it is a custom amongst them, that those who are of able estate, though born and have lived in other countries, yet when they grow old they transport themselves thither to end their days, and lay their bones there in the Holy place as he called it. He said he was brought up, and was a student eleven years, in the Jews College in Cracovia the chief City of Poland, where the Jews have an University, and that he had newly written over the Five Books of Moses with his own hand in Hebrew, without points, in rolls of parchment, for the use of a Synagogue: and that himself had formerly been Priest to a Synagogue of his own nation in Poland. A very modest man, and once with much ado I got him to accept of an invitation to take part of a dinner with me: at which time he told me that he had special relation as Scribe and Rabbi to a private Synagogue of his nation in London, and that if I had a desire to see their manner of worship, though they did scarce admit of any, their Synagogue being strictly kept with three doors one beyond another, yet he would give me such a ticket, as, upon sight thereof, their porter would let me in upon their next Sabbath Day in the morning being Saturday. I made

show as though I were indifferent, but inwardly hugged the good hap.

When Saturday came, I rose very early, the place being far from my lodging; and in a private corner of the City, with much 'ado, following my directions, I found it at the point of nine o'clock, and was let come in at the first door, but there being no Englishman but myself, and my Rabbi not being there then (for they were but just beginning service) I was at first a little abashed to venture alone amongst all them Jews; but my innate curiosity to see things strange spurring me on, made me confident even to impudence. I rubbed my forehead, opened the inmost door, and taking off my hat (as instructed) I went in and sate me down amongst them; but Lord (Thoma frater) what a strange, uncouth, foreign, and to me barbarous sight was there, I could have wished Thoma that you had then sate next me, for I saw no living soul, but all covered, hooded, guized, veiled Jews, and my own plain bare self amongst them. The sight would have frightened a novice, and made him to have run out again.

Every man had a large white vest, covering, or veil cast over the high crown of his hat, which from thence hung down on all sides, covering the whole hat, the shoulders, arms, sides, and back to the girdle place, nothing to be seen but a little of the face; this, my Rabbi told me, was their ancient garb, used in divine

worship in their Synagogues in Jerusalem and in all the Holy Land before the destruction of their City : and though to me at first, it made altogether a strange and barbarous show, yet me thought it had in its kind, I know not how, a face and aspect of venerable antiquity. Their veils were all pure white, made of taffata or silk, though some few were of a stuff coarser than silk ; the veil at each of its four corners had a broad badge ; some had red badges, some green, some blue, some wrought with gold or silver, which my Rabbi told me were to distinguish the tribes of which each was common.

I was a curious and critical spectator of all things there, and when I came to my Chamber in the afternoon I wrote down the particulars in my note book, while fresh in memory.

Their Synagogue is like a Chapel, high built ; for after the first door they go up stairs into it, and the floor is boarded ; the seats are not as ours, but two long running seats on either side, as in a school : at the west end of it there is a seat as high as a pulpit, but made deskwise, wherein the two members of the Synagogue did sit veiled, as were all both priest and people. The chief Ruler was a very rich merchant, a big, black, fierce, and stern man, to whom I perceive they stand in as reverential an awe as boys to a master : for when any left singing upon their books and talked, or that some were out of tune, he did call aloud with

a barbarous thundering voice, and knocked upon the high desk with his fist, that all sounded again. Straight before them, at some distance but on a seat much lower, sate the Priest. Two yards before him, on midst of the floor, stood that whereon the Service and Law were read, being like to an high short table, with steps to it on one side as an altar, covered with a green carpet, and upon that another shorter one of blue silk; two brass candlesticks standing at either end of it; before that on the floor were three low seats whereon some boys sat, their sons, richly veiled, as gentle comely youths as one should see; who had each his Service Book in hand, in Hebrew without points, and were as ready and nimble in it, and all their postures, as the men.

There was brought in a pretty Boy at four years old, a child of some chief Jew, in rich coats, with black feathers in his hat, the priest himself arose and put a veil over the child's hat of pure white silk, fastening it under the hatband that he should not shake it off, and set him upon a seat among the boys; but he soon leaped off, and ran with his veil dangling up and down; once he came and looked at me, wondering perhaps that I had no veil; at length he got the inner door open and went to his mother; for they do not suffer the Women to come into the same room or into the sight of the men: but on the one side of the Synagogue there is a low, long, and narrow latticed window,

through which the women, sitting in the next room, do hear ; as the boy opened it, I saw some of their wives in their rich silks bedaubed with broad gold lace ; with muffs in one hand and books in the other.

At the east end of the Synagogue standeth a closet like a very high cupboard, which they call the Ark, covered below with one large hanging of blue silk ; its upper half covered with several drawingcurtains of blue silk ; in it are the Books of the Law kept. Before it, upon the floor, stand two mighty brass candlesticks with lighted tapers in them ; from the roof, above the hangings, two great lamps of christal glass, holding each about a pottle filled up to the brim with purest oil, set within a case of four little brass pillars gilded. In the wall at either end of the Synagogue, are very many draw boxes, with rings at them like those in a Grocer's Shop ; and in it (as I came sooner in the morning than many or most of them) I saw that each Jew at his first entrance into the place did first bow down towards the Ark wherein the Law was kept, but with his hat on, which they never do put off in this place ; but a stranger must ; for after a good while two Englishmen were brought in, at which I was glad, being alone before, and they were bareheaded until they were set down amongst them, which then put on their hats. The one I knew to be a citizen and shopkeeper. At last I saw my Rabbi come in. Each Jew after he had bowed went straight to his box, took a little key out

of his pocket, unlocked it, took out his veil and books, then threw his veil over his hat and fitted it on all sides, and so went to his place, and fell a tuning it upon his Hebrew Service Book as hard and loud as he could; for all is sung with a mighty noise from first to last, both of priest and people; saying some prayers; and all was done in the right true Hebrew tongue, as my Rabbi affirmed to me afterwards; which, to this end, they do industriously teach all their children from their infancy, having their schoolmistress on purpose, especially their Service books, which they have at their fingers' end. There was none but had a book open in his hand, about the bigness of our hand Bibles. I looked upon several of their books as they sate by me and before me, yea I could plainly see both lines and letters in the Priest's book wherein he read, I sate so nigh him, and all were the true Hebrew letters, but in all the books without any points. The Priest's son, a comely youth, standing at the Table or Altar alone, sung all the former part of the Service which was a full hour long, all the rest singing with him, with a great and barbarous noise; this consisted mostly of the Psalms of David, with some prayers intermixed, which they sung standing up looking East, and with a lower noise and in tune not unlike to that when the reading Psalms are sung in our quires; but their reading Psalms they sung much what like as we do sing ballads; and I observed that when mention was made of

the Edomites, Philistines, or any enemies of David, or Israel's, they stamped strongly with their feet, that all the Synagogue sounded again. There were two or three composed Hymns, which they, all standing up and looking toward Jerusalem, sang very melodiously. After this former part of the Service finished, the Priest's son officiating hitherto, which was about an hour, there was deep silence for a pretty while; then the Priest arose and some of the chief Jews with him, and they went with a grave, slow pace, up the Synagogue, to fetch the Law of Moses, and when they came to the Ark wherein it was kept, the priest drew the curtain, and opening the double door of it, the Law appeared, then the whole assembly stood up and bowed down just toward it, and the priest and those chief ones with him, stood singing a song to it a little while. The Law was written in two great rolls of very broad parchment (as my Rabbi told me afterwards, and he told me the meaning of each thing that I desired, to which you must impute all that I here interpret). The roll contained the Book of Genesis and was much lesser; the other being three times as big, contained the other four Books of Moses. This roll was as thick as a pretty round pillar. Either roll had two fine thrown Staves of black wood, one fastened to either end of it, whereon it was rolled up, the staves meeting in the middle; and the roll was swaddled about with a fine blue scarf, and over it was put a

covering or case of blue silk fringed at the bottom ; and in the top of the over roll was stuck like a fine tree of silver, hung full of silver bells, which my Rabbi told me they called the Bells of Aaron, and in the top of the other roll was stuck a rod, having artificial flowers upon it, in remembrance of Aaron's Rod that budded. The priest took forth the two rolls of the Ark and delivered them to two of those with him, who taking the bottom of the staves in their hand, carried them straight upon high, rearing them to their shoulder ; so they came back in a solemn procession, bringing the Law with singing (those only sang who brought it) melodiously one of the Songs of Sion. ' The Law shall forth out of Sion come,' &c. And as the Law thus passed along by them the people bowed towards it, and such as could reach took up the fringe of its costly covering in their hands and kissed it. When they had brought it to the altar, four or five were busied in uncovering and unswaddling the roll. The priest's son took in his hand the Silver Bells of Aaron and the budded Rod, and came and sate down next of all to me, thrusting his side so close to mine that part of his veil lay upon mine arm, he holding the Bells and Rod all the while close by my nose : then the priest opened and spread the Law about a yard wide, and lifted it up a full yard above his head, turning himself, and showing it East, West, North, and South. The Jews meanwhile bowing down towards it

with great reverence. The parchment of it was full yard broad, the ground yellow, the letters pure black, and all without points. I sate within two yards of the Altar. Then the priest laid the Law upon the altar and took in his hand a small silver cane or quill, with the sharp end thereof pointing at the lines of the Law as he read, for the greater reverence ; it was half a yard long. Then there arose one out of the assembly and came unto the priest, making low reverence ; when the priest asked aloud whether he desired to hear the Law read, who saying ‘ yes,’ the priest bade him pray then, and he looked upon his Hebrew Service Book which he had in his hand, and read over a short prayer very fast ; then the priest read a few lines of the Law with a loud voice, in a thundering barbarous tone, as fast as his tongue could run, for a form only ; then asked the man whether he had heard the Law, who saying ‘ yes,’ he bad him give thanks then, and he read a short prayer out of his book as before : so, bowing himself to the Law and the Priest, he went to his place, and another came, and did in like manner until five or six had thus heard the Law read to them ; which they count a special piece of honour to them. After that, five or six were busied in wrapping up swaddling and veiling the two rolls of the Law again, whereon they put their Bells and budded Rod again, and carried back with solemn procession as before, and the priest placed it in the Ark ; and they stood singing

to it awhile. Afterwards the priest alone, at the Altar, read very many short prayers, to which they all standing up said ‘Amen,’ using this same word.

Then a comely youth standing in the midst of the Synagogue, and looking towards the Law, sung alone a long Anthem, and after this was there long Supplication, which was the most solemn part of all their service; which they all spake together standing (for they never kneel), with their faces East, often bowing down altogether; it being partly a complaint of the long desolation of their City and Temple, partly a prayer for the coming of Messiah and their Restoration (thank my Rabbi for the interpretation); ‘Sion is become a ploughed field, and Jerusalem made an heap of stones, thy servants think upon her stones and it grieveth them to see her in the dust; our ancient and our beautiful House, where our fathers served thee, lieth waste; then gather us o Lord from amongst the Heathen; remember Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; remember thy promises made unto our fathers, in our time, in our time, O Lord,’ &c.

I confess that looking earnestly upon them in this, and thoughts coming into my mind of the Wonders which God wrought for their fathers in Egypt, and who heard the Voice of God speak to them out of the midst of the fire on Sinai, and seed of Abraham the friend of God, I was strangely, uncouthly, unaccustomedly moved, and deeply affected; tears stood in

my eyes the while, to see those banished Sons of Israel standing in their ancient garb (veiled) but in a strange land, solemnly and carefully looking East toward their own Country, confessing their sins and the sins of their forefathers, humbling themselves and bowing down together (as often they did in their Supplication) before the God of their Fathers, who doubtless will hear them or their posterity better than they desire, will open their eyes and let them see that the true Messiah came long since, even he whom their fathers pierced, and they shall mourn over him and be brought unto him, and to their own land. After this, for a conclusion of all, the Priest read certain select promises of their restoration, at which they showed great rejoicing, by strutting up, so that some of their veils flew about like morris dancers, only they wanted bells. This forenoon service continued about three hours, from nine to twelve, which being ended, they all put off their veils, and each man wrapping his veil up, went and put it and his Hebrew Service Book into his box, and locking it departed.

My Rabbi invited me afterwards to come and see the feast of Purim, which they kept he said for the deliverance from Haman's Conspiracy, mentioned in the Book of Esther; in which they use great knocking and stamping when Haman is named. Also he desired me to come and see them eat the Passover, which they did ten days before our Easter, and he had got me to

the door of the place, but I felt such a reluctancy in me, as that having in part satisfied my Curiosity by seeing their manner of Service once, my heart would in no wise give me to go again amongst those Unbelievers, in that place where my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in whom is all my hope and trust for ever, was not owned. So I came away back again without seeing it; though afterwards I understood that several had been there to see them eat it, who brought away some of their unleavened bread with them, and showed to some who told me, one year in Oliver's time, they did build booths on the other side of Thames, and kept the Feast of Tabernacles in them, as some told me who saw them; but since the King's coming in, they are very close, nor do admit any to see them but very privately.

When I was in the Synagogue I counted about or above a hundred right Jews, one proselite amongst them, they were all gentlemen (merchants) I saw not one mechanic person of them; most of them rich in apparel, divers with jewels glittering (for they are the richest jewellers of any) they are all generally black so as they may be distinguished from Spaniards or native Greeks, for the Jews hair hath a deeper tincture of a more perfect raven black, they have a quick piercing eye, and look as if of strong intellectuals; several of them are comely, gallant, proper gentlemen. I knew many of them when I saw them daily upon the

Exchange, and the Priest there too, who also is a merchant. It were tedious to relate the several disputes I had with my Rabbi at our being together, and his strange rabbinical and indeed irrational reasonings against Christ. In a word the curse is upon them to the uttermost; and they have a grosser veil over the eye of the soul, than that which covers their heads; they are so firmly possessed with an invincible prejudice against the Cross of Christ, and so doat upon their imaginary Messiah to come a temporal King that shall conquer all the princes of the earth, and make their nation Lords of all the World, that an argument from the strongest, clearest, and most convincing reasons that can be brought for Christ, is but an arrow shot against a wall of brass. Bene vale mi Thomâ et ora tu pro Judæis, et pro miserrimo peccatore omnium Christianorum. Ille tuus olim fraterrimus et in perpetuum frater ubicunque terrarum,

JO. GREENHALGH,

London, April 22^l.

1662.

Quod ad Judæos.

Cœpit ab his, delata ad nos, referetur ad illos
Nostra fides, et erunt sub Mundi fine fideles.

For my worthy friend Mr. Thomas
Crompton, Minister of Astley Chappel,
These,

LETTER CCCX.

The Rev. Stephen Bing to Dr. Sancroft Dean of St. Pauls: upon the ravage of the Great Plague.

[MS. HARL. 3783, fol. 41. Orig.]

* * In this and some succeeding Letters the reader will find a few particulars of what occurred in the Great Plague of 1665; to the full description of which neither the pencil nor the pen have yet been adequate. The desolation was too wide and too fearful for any one to seek materials for a picture of it while it raged: to the contemporary Letters of survivors therefore, and their Diaries where such exist,^a can we alone look now for its minute details. These should be sought for and formed into a Volume. Such a publication might be useful, not only to those who read and reflect, but to all who in the pride of science or the greediness of trade would speculate upon the chances of contagion.^b De Foe's Journal of the Plague of 1665, was an entire fiction; though it deceived Dr. Mead.

^a There is an entry in Pepys's Diary, vol. i. pp. 363, 364, one part of which is affecting. Pepys was then at Woolwich. He says, "My Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes and I up to the Vestry at the desire of the Justices of the Peace, in order to the doing something for the keeping of the plague from growing; but Lord! to consider the madness of people of the town, who will (because they are forbid) come in crowds along with the dead corpses to see them buried; but we agreed on some orders for the prevention thereof. Among other stories, one was very passionate methought, of a complaint brought against a man in the town, for taking a child from London from an infected house. Alderman Hooker told us it was the child of a very able citizen in Gracechurch Street, a saddler, who had buried all the rest of his children of the plague, and himself and wife now being shut up and in despair of escaping, did desire only to save the life of this little child, and so prevailed to have it received stark-naked into the arms of a friend, who brought it (having put it into new fresh clothes) to Greenwich; where upon hearing the story, we did agree it should be permitted to be received and kept in the town."

^b The following passage in the Additions to the Account of Cheshire by the Messrs. Lysons in their *Magna Britannia*, p. 845. although it relates to the former Plague of 1625, will not be thought impertinently called to notice here.

"Since the Account of Malpas has been printed we have been favoured with the communication of the following very remarkable entries in the parish Register at that place, relating to the ravages of that dreadful disorder the plague, which swept

27th July, 1665.

SIR,

I HAVE sent by this opportunity "The Weekly News" and "The Bill of Mortality." The prayers of the Church are continued, and persons attending as yet.

* * * * *

It is said the Sacrist is out of town, and there will be no Communion as customarily, of the which I have been inquired, and to which I could not make answer fully. People frequent the Church as before, except-

away a whole family in the township of Bradley. The circumstance of a man being induced to dig his own grave, from the conviction that the slender and sickly remnant of his household were unable to provide him with the rites of sepulture, presents that dreadful calamity to our imagination, in a more awful and horrid view than any of the many distressing particulars we remember to have met concerning it.

" 1625.

" Thomas Jefferie, servant to Mr. Dawson of Bradley, buried the xth. day of August, in the night, he dyed of the Plague; before this was buried a daughter of the sayd Dawson's, but not of the sickness, as it is thought.

" Richarde the sonne of Thomas Dawson of Bradley (that died of the plague,) buried the xliith. of August in the night, 1625.

" Raffe Dawson, sonne of the afforesayd Thomas, came from London about xxvth. of July last past, and being sicke of the plague, died in his fathers howse, and soe infected the sayd howse, and was buried, as it was reported, neare unto his fathers howse.

" Thomas Dawson of Bradley, died of the plague, and was buried the xvith. day of August 1625, about liith. of the clocke, after midnight.

" Elyzabeth, the daughter of the afforesayde Thomas Dawson, died of the plague of pestilence, and was buried the xx. of August, 1625.

" Anne the wyffe of John Dawson, sonne of the afforesayd Thomas Dawson, died of the plague of pestilence, and was buried the xxth. of August.

" Richarde Dawson, (brother to the abovenamed Thomas Dawson of Bradley) being sicke of the plague, and perceyving he must die at that tyme, arose out of his bed, and made his grave, and caused his nefew, John Dawson, to cast strawe into the grave which was not farre from the howse, and went and laid him down in the sayd grave and caused clothes to be layd uppon and soe departed out of this world; this he did because he was a stronge man and heavler than his sayd nefew, and an other a wench were able to burye. He died about the xxliijth. of August. Thus much I was credibly told he dñd, 1625.

" John Dawson, sonne of the above-named Thomas, came unto his father, when his father sent for him, being sicke, and having laid him downe in a ditch, died in it the xxixth. daye of August 1625, in the night.

" Rose Smyth servant of the abovenamed Thomas Dawson, and the last of that howshold, died of plague, and was buried by William Cooke, the vth. daye of September, 1625, near unto the sayd howse.

ing on Sundays, and the last Holyday, on which we had a Sermon, and shall have another on the Fast-day.

The increase of God's Judgment deads people's hearts, that trading strangely ceaseth, and bills of Exchange are not accepted, so that they shut up their shops; and such a fear possesseth them, as it is wonderful to see how they hurry into the country as though the same God was not there that is in the city: so that those that are living, and lived in the great sickness time,^a saw nor knew not the like, when there died four thousand a week. I pray God to prevent a sad sequel.

Great complaint there is of necessity; and needs must it be the more when the rich haste away that should supply the poor's want. I have been since the writing of my last letter in several places, being informed of some, that are shut up, to be in a very necessitous condition, to see if it were so or no; and so finding them, I have been bold to extend your charity to the outrunning the bank you honoured me with. The Lord extend the yearnings of his bowels of compassion towards us, that we be not consumed by the means of his heavy hand; and give us grace to depart from the plague of our hearts, that this Plague and grievous Sickness may be withdrawn from us for Christ Jesus his sake: that so we may have the blessed happiness again of meeting together in his Howse with one

^a A. D. 1625.

accord to record his name. Thus prays he always,
who shall be much honoured to be esteemed the
lowest of

Your worship's most humble
and faithful servants,

STEPHEN BING.

These to the reverend and right
worshipful Dr. Sancroft, Dean of
St. Pauls, London, at the Rose and
Crown in Tunbridge,
present.

LETTER CCCXI.

*Mr. Bing to Dr. Sancroft. The Plague continues.
The Bishop of London endeavours to recall the
Pastors who had left their Churches.*

[MS. HARL. 3783. fol. 42. Orig.]

3 August, 1665.

REVEREND AND RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

I HAVE sent the "Weekly Bill" and "News," as I
did the last week (and so God willing shall continue
your command) which I hope was received, and like-
wise a Letter with four letters enclosed by a special
friend the week before. The Cross Sermons^a are con-

^a Those preached at St. Paul's Cross. EDIT.

tinued, and we had on the Fast Day a laudable Sermon by Mr. Ridsen minister in Bread-street, my Lord Mayor being present, Sir Richard Brown and Sir John Robinson and other Aldermen, with a great congregation.

Our Prayers are continued three times a day, but we do not our attendance, for now there are but three Petty Canons left; viz. myself, Mr. Clifford, and Masters, with two Vicars, Mr. Simpson and Morrice; the rest are out of town. Mr. Portington lies at the point of death, whose turn being to officiate this week, I supply; for none else would do it except they are paid for it. Little mercy; the Lord be merciful to us. I wish it were as formerly, which was not so in such case of necessity. Dr. Barwick remembers his service, and asked me, as also others, if I heard any thing concerning the monthly Communion, the which I could say little to. So waiting God's good will and pleasure in and for his gracious presence again, and the grace of yours in his Holy Place where it hath pleased the King of Kings to place you governor, he heartily prays for, who humbly remains

Your worship's most humble
and affectionate servant,

STEPHEN BING.

It is said that my Lord Bishop of London hath sent to those Pastors that have quitted their flocks by

reason of these times, that, if they return not speedily, others shall be put into their places.

To the reverend and right worshipful William Sancroft, Doctor of Divinity, Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, these
present.

LETTER CCCXII.

Mr. Bing to Dr. Sancroft. The Sickness continues. One of the late King's Judges taken prisoner, but rescued. The disaffected take advantage of the confusion occasioned by the Plague.

[MS. HARL. 3783. fol. 49. Orig.]

10th. August, 1665.

REVEREND AND RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

I HAVE sent you the Thursday's intelligence, half of which was in the other sent on Monday, which I hope is received with the answer to the letter that came to my hand on Saturday last; and likewise the "Weekly Bill," which is very sad, and the more sad are our times that neither calm nor storm will abate the fury of our

monstrous spirits, who in the face of a congregation, as at Paul's the other day, will say these Calamities are caused by the Government in Church and State.

The Sickness is broke out in two places since Monday in St. Gregories; one Dwelling opening into your yard, and the other at the left corner of the entry of our going into the Church. It is in Cambridge also, of which I forgot to tell you. And whereas I told you of two sick in the Petty Canons; it is said the husband died of a consumption, but the wife lies sick of a plague sore. For other places infected in the parish I informed in my last, with that of their Lordships being present at the prorogation of the Parliament until the 3¹. October, and that of the Convocation by virtue of King's writ until 26th. Jan. following.

At the end of the last week one of the late King's judges being taken, he was sent to the Tower, but by the way, at the lower end of Cheapside, by a concourse of people he was rescued.^a This morning it was told me that some confederacy is found out; and may all their devices be frustrated, and the devisers caught in their own traps that seek ill to Sion and the King. The Lord be gracious to this Church and Nation, and down with them that would down with governors and

^a This same circumstance is mentioned in Pepys's Diary, vol. i. p. 359. "Aug. 5th. 1665. I am told of a great riot upon Thursday last in Cheapside; Colonel Danvers, a delinquent, having been taken, and in his way to the Tower was rescued from the captain of the guard, and carried away; one only of the rescuers being taken."

Government. They hope that this his hand of displeasure will work much for them, but we trust he will correct us in his fatherly judgment, and not in his fury, that we may be the better fitted to meet him once more in the beauty of Holiness to praise his name, which God grant for his mercy's sake in Christ Jesus. So are the hearty prayers of him who is and shall be always,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

STE. BING.

Dr. Barwick the constant frequenter of our church, sometimes three times in a day, remembers his service to your Worship.

These for the reverend and right
worth. Will^m. Sancroft, Dr. of Di-
vinity, Dean of the Cathedral
Church of St. Paul, London,

present.

To be left at the Rose and Crown
in Tunbridge.

LETTER CCCXIII.

J. Tillison to Dr. Sancroft. The Necessities of the Poor. The parish of St. Giles Cripplegate more severely visited by the Plague than any other in London.

[MS. HARL. 3785. fol. 48. Orig.]

August the 15th. 1665.

REVEREND SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 11th. instant, and in obedience to your commands carried the enclosed to Mr. Welsted and received £11, who just then was ready with all his family to be gone into the country; but your bill coming to him in so seasonable an hour he has left order at Sir Robert Barkwell's to discharge your bills if any come upon him from you. I have likewise acquainted Mr. Bing with your intentions of charity towards the poor, and shall take Dr. Barwick's advice before it be disposed of, and (if it might be) have your directions a little too. I hope you will not take my simple well meaning amiss, nor take it ill if I put you in mind of our own parish, where there is all this time sixteen or seventeen houses visited, a great many of them poor and in want, and that some of the parishioners, as I am informed (I beg your pardon for

my good will) do a little grumble that you left nothing for the poor when you went away. I perceive since this that Mr. Bing had the disposing of some of your charity, and I do not doubt but that he will give you an account of it; nor do I think it is your will that any partiality should be used in this case. It is very probable that some neighbouring parishes may stand in need, but I am sure that the miserable condition of St. Giles's Cripplegate, which is one of your peculiars, is more to be pitied than any parish in or about London, where all have liberty least their sick and poor should be famished within doors; the parish not being able to relieve their necessities. I had, not long since, such a sum as yours to distribute, and where I knew not the necessity of the poor I paid a sum to the churchwardens, and they to the overseers of the poor, so that I had an account brought to how many persons in each parish it was distributed, but this is no rule for You.

Your neighbour and tenant Fleetham has his health, God be thanked, very well, and though his maid was reported to be dead with his child, she is recovered, and all the family well.^a Dr. Barwick is very careful of him and his family, and of keeping the gates duly locked up. I was lately at Fulham, and my lord commanded me to let you know that himself and family are all in good health, and to send his commenda-

^a All the family, excepting the maid, were afterwards swept away. See p. 37.

tions to you, and that he desired very much to hear where you were resident, and how you did enjoy your health. I had one from my master this day, wherein he and my mistress commend them to you, and would be glad to see you at Canterbury when you remove from Tunbridge; though you may be better accommodated elsewhere, not better welcome. I am not certain whether I shall remove from this place or no, nor do I know how long it will please God to give me my life:^a however I think no fitter person that is likely to stay here, with whom to leave the trust of your house, than Mr. Almond; I am persuaded you need not question his fidelity. If I do remove I shall give you timely notice. Dr. Barwick and Mr. Bing present their services to you. The prayers of the church are continued by Mr. Bing, Mr. Clifford, and Mr. Masters, and Simpson attending. I smoke your house twice a week, Tuesdays and Fridays. I beg the continuance of your prayers, and rest

Your obedient humble servant,

J. TILLISON.

It is reported that above eight hundred are already buried in Cripplegate parish this week.^b

^a Pepys in his Diary, vol. i. p. 359 says, "Aug. 10th. the Town growing so unhealthy, that a man cannot depend upon living two days." In another place, "Sad news of the death of so many in the parish of the plague, *forty last night*. The Bell always going."

^b The Bill of Mortality for a subsequent week, 29th. Aug. to 5th. Sept. returned 567 dead of the plague in this Parish. The total returned buried in that week from Cripplegate, was 690. The poor of this Parish having liberty to go about, the contagion became more extended in it.

LETTER CCCXIV.

*Mr. Tillison to Dr. Sancroft. Further particulars
of the violence of the Plague.*

[MS. HARL. 3785. fol. 49. Orig.]

London, August the 23^d. 1665.

REVEREND SIR,

YOURS of Saturday last from Ewell, I have received, and as far as in me lies have observed and done your commands. I have paid £40 to Mr. Daniel Keilway, and £5 to those of the choir to whom you directed me, who return their humble service and thanks, and promise to continue their constant attendance in the service of the Church. I likewise paid £5 to the churchwardens of St. Giles's Cripplegate since your last to me; the rest of your charity I hope Mr. Bing will give a good account of. He had £5 of your last money from me. Though your care could not have been more than it was for furnishing me with money to discharge those payments which you ordered in your last, yet all those ways failed every one. Dr. Barwick pretended yesterday that he had not so much money of his own to disburse presently, but at the last

(though a little scrupled at first) he was willing to let me take £40 out of the common stock, and that we intended to do this morning, but God Almighty has ordered it otherwise, by striking Dr. Barwick with so desperate sickness that it was not fit for me to go to him, nor he in a condition to be reminded of any such thing; it seems not one member but all the parts of his body bears a part in his sufferings; neither rising nor botch does yet appear; a slow weak pulse and faintness possesses him; his sweating is not much; seeing this to happen it made me void of hope to effect my business, yea and daunted me very much too. But after a little pause I went to Sir Robert Viners (there Mr. Welsted's money lies) but could not receive one penny unless I brought Mr. Welsted's note. I am sorry Mr. Welsted should forget his promise, he is some where towards Uxbridge.

Your tenant Fleetham died this afternoon. Kendrick the bellringer has languished since last Sunday, we have some hopes this evening that he may recover. Johnson your bailiff was buried last night. I am very sorry Mr. Sisson has caught so troublesome a companion as an ague. I wish he may shake it off before winter. Mr. Bing presents his humble service to you. I am a little doubtful whether this will come to your hands. I have no other directions to send to you but by inquiring from one inn to another in Southwark this afternoon. If I do but once find a conveyance I

shall be ready to observe your commands upon all occasions so long as I live, for so long shall I be
your faithful servant,

JO. TILLISON.

LETTER CCCXV.

J. Tillison to Dr. Sancroft. The great desolation of the City.

[MS. HARL. 3785. fol. 50. *Orig.*]

Sept. 14th. 1665.

REVEREND SIR,

* * * * *

WE are in good hopes that God in his mercy will put a stop to this sad calamity of Sickness; but the desolation of the City is very great. That heart is either steel or stone that will not lament this sad Visitation, and will not bleed for those unutterable sorrows.

It is a time, God knows, that one woe courts another; those that are sick are in extreme sorrow; the poor are in need; those that are in health are in fear of infection on the one side, and the wicked inventions of hellish rebellious spirits to put us in an uproar on the other side.

What eye would not weep to see so many habitations uninhabited ; the poor sick not visited ; the hungry not fed ; the Grave not satisfied ! Death stares us continually in the face in every infected person that passeth by us ; in every coffin which is daily and hourly carried along the streets. The bells never cease to put us in mind of our mortality.

The custom was, in the beginning, to bury the dead in the night only ; now, both night and day will hardly be time enough to do it.

For the last week, mortality did too apparently evidence that, that the dead was piled in heaps above ground for some hours together, before either time could be gained or place to bury them in.

The Quakers (as we are informed) have buried in their piece of ground a thousand for some weeks together last past.

Many are dead in Ludgate, Newgate, and Christ Church Hospital, and many other places about the town which are not included in the bill of mortality.

The disease itself (as is acknowledged by our practitioners in physic) was more favourable in the beginning of the contagion ; now more fierce and violent ; and they themselves do likewise confess to stand amazed to meet with so many various symptoms which they find amongst their patients. One week the general distempers are botches and boils ; the next week as clear-skinned as may be ; but death spares

neither. One week, full of spots and tokens; and perhaps the succeeding, none at all. Now taken with a vomiting and looseness, and within two or three days almost a general raging madness. One while patients used to linger four or five days, at other times not forty-eight hours; and at this very time we find it more quick than ever it was. Many are sick, and few escape. Where it has had its fling, there it decreases; where it has not been long, there it increases. It reigned most heretofore in alleys, &c. now it domineers in the open streets. The poorer sort was most afflicted; now the richer bear a share.

Captain Colchester is dead. Fleetham and all his family are clearly swept away, except one maid. Dr. Burnett, Dr. Glover, and one or two more of the College of Physicians, with Dr. O' Dowd, which was licensed by my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, some surgeons, apothecaries, and Johnson the chemist, died all very suddenly. Some say (but God forbid that I should report it for truth) that these, in a consultation together, if not all, yet the greatest part of them, attempted to open a dead corpse which was full of the tokens; and being in hand with the dissected body, some fell down dead immediately, and others did not outlive the next day at noon.

All is well and in safety at your house, God be thanked. Upon Tuesday last I made it my day's work to kindle fires in every room of the house where I could

do it, and aired all the bedclothes and bedding at the fires, and so let them all lie abroad until this morning; the feather bed in the back chamber was almost spoiled with the heavy weight of carpets and other things upon it. I am afraid I have been too tedious, and therefore beg your pardon and take my leave, who am,

Reverend Sir,
your most faithful humble servant,

JO. TILLISON.

Brimstone, hops, pepper, and frankincense, &c. I use to fume the rooms with.

For yourself.

LETTER CCCXVI.

King Charles the Second to the Duke of Ormond, concerning the dismissal of Lord Chancellor Hyde.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6407. 4. FROM THE *Orig.* IN THE POSSESSION OF SIR GEORGE CLARKE.]

* * Eachard alludes to this Letter in his History. He says, "As to the private reasons of the King's abandoning the Chancellor, His Majesty wrote an obliging Letter to the Duke of Ormond, then in Ireland, to give him satisfaction in that matter; as knowing him to be his intimate friend. The Letter was never yet published, nor would a Copy of it be granted; but I have more than once been told the substance of it by those who have read it; and the principal reason there given by the King was, *the Chancellor's insupportable temper.*"^a

That the Chancellor had grown a little peevish, we have an instance in Pepys's Memoirs. Nevertheless the true reason of the King's discarding

^a Each. Hist. Engl. vol. ii. p. 192.

him was, that his integrity had become hateful to the buffoons of a licentious Court, who feared him as a monitor. Their banter and mimicry, aided by female solicitation, at last induced the King to part both from his person and his services. Granger justly observes that the virtue of the Earl of Clarendon was of too stubborn a nature for the Age of Charles the Second.

When he was going from Court, upon his resignation of the Great Seal, the Dutchess of Cleveland insulted him from a window of the Palace. He turned round and said calmly, 'Madam, if you live you will grow old.'

Whitehall, 15th. Sept.

I SHOULD have thanked you sooner for your melancholy letter of 26^h. Aug. and the good counsel you gave me in it, as my purpose was also to say something to you concerning my taking the Seals from the Chancellor; of which you must needs have heard all the passages, since he would not suffer it to be done so privately as I intended it; the truth is, his behaviour and humour was grown so unsupportable to myself, and to all the world else, that I could not longer endure it, and it was impossible for me to live with it and do those things with the Parliament that must be done, or the Government will be lost. When I have a better opportunity for it, you shall know many particulars that have inclined me to this resolution, which already seems to be well liked in the world, and to have given a real and visible amendment to my affairs. This is an Argument too big for a Letter; so I will add but this word to it, to assure you that your former friendship to the Chancellor shall not do you any prejudice with me, and that I have not in the least degree

diminished that value and kindness I ever had for you, which I thought fit to say to you upon this occasion, because it is very possible malicious people may suggest the contrary to you.

C.

To my Lord Lieutenant.

Endorsed

“ The Kings.
 15 }
 Rec. 24 } Sept. 67.
 at Kilkenny
 Answered 2 Oct. 67.”

LETTER CCCXVII.

*Dr. George Hickes to Dr. Patrick. The State of
 Affairs in Scotland.*

[MS. LANSD. 988. fol. 156.]

Edinburgh, December 8th. 77.

SIR,

THE inclosed is an account of the present state of Affairs in this Kingdom, and of that effectual course my Lord Duke^a hath taken to reduce the insolent fanatics. It is sent to my Lord Bishop of Rochester from my Lord Bishop of Galloway, who is a great support to this Church, and a very faithful friend and counsellor to my Lord. I have formerly told you how

^a The Duke of Lauderdale.

the fanatics have been under-hand encouraged to this height of insolence by some mal-content Lords, and therefore to particularise the general information of the inclosed, I have sent you the names of the most considerable and mischievous of them in the several divisions, where the fanatics of late have made so much stir. In the country of Fife the Earl of Rothes, (the present Lord Chancellor) and the Earl of Kincardine are chief, whereof the former hath been the most false and the latter the most ungrateful man to my Lord that ever was born. In Clydesdale the Duke of Hamilton, Sheriff of the Shire. In Carriet the Earl of Cassils, Sheriff of the Shire. In Tiviotdale the Earl of Roxborough; and in Tweedale his father-in-law the Earl of Tweedale, Sheriff. In the Stewartry of Kirkubright, which containeth the east part of Galloway, the Earl of Queensbury and the Earl of Galloway; and in Stirlingshire and about Lithgow the Earl of Calender and Major-general Drummond.

These are the chief of the party, and though all of them be not fanatics professed, yet those that are not, forgetting their duty to their Prince and the established government of the Church, take this wicked course of fomenting the fanatic faction (if it could be to rebel) because (forsooth) they have not the chief administration of affairs. They are now most of them with their adherents in the town, and daily club together to raise lies and disperse them about both

Kingdoms, and all the ways imaginable to debauch the military and gentry (though God be thanked with little success) from their duty to his Majesty, and make them have an ill opinion of my Lord.

From this account you may see what great reason my Lord D. had not to undertake the reduction of the forementioned Countries till he had procured the English and Irish Forces to be in readiness, in case there should be occasion. For had he sent the small forces we have here among them before, they would have been encouraged to rise by their foresaid patriots, whereof some wish the ruin of the Church, and all of them the ruin of my Lord Duke. And notwithstanding the preparations that my Lord hath made against them, yet the mad rabble think themselves secure, having received private information from their patriots that they will undertake their protection till Spring, which whether they can do or no must be proved by the event. My Lord, you may assure all the world, will not let slip this opportunity of doing God and the Church, the King and his Country, all that Service which a most loyal subject, faithful minister, and zealous Churchman can be imagined to do. And yet the Lords of the party had so far insinuated themselves into the clergy as to make some of them suspect his sincerity to the Church; this I found every where in the late tours I made about the country, and I think I was more capable then any other single man

to cure their jealousies, wherewith some Bishops were but too much possessed, till I conjured them to believe that if my Lord were not true to the Church, I would not tarry with him three days.

My Lord hath taken care to hinder the French Officers from levying recruits in this Kingdom, which I hope will be acceptable news in England to all but those that would have him reputed of the French faction; because it is so odious a character in our country. You cannot well imagine what daily pains and troubles he undergoes here, what knotty businesses he is to go through, and yet how cheerful, serene, and undisturbed he is, as if he had neither enemies, nor any thing to do.

In your last you desired me to give you an account of the breaking of the contract between my Lady Catherine and the Marquis of Athol's eldest son. The pretended reason of the Marquis and Marchioness was this, that upon taking a more particular account of the lands and debts, they could not make good the conditions in the contract, and so desired it might be nulled. This was the pretended, but what were the real reasons time will discover, and hereafter I shall be able to give you better information. But the young Lady lost nothing by it, for the news of the broken contract was no sooner gone abroad but my Lady had match upon match proffered from the best of the Nobility, who knew the worth and virtues of the young

Lady, in particular from a very great Peer of this Kingdom, the Earl of Murray, for his eldest son my Lord Downes, who is a person far preferable to the Marquis's son, and with whom she is to have far more honourable conditions. Pray when you deliver the inclosed, present my most humble duty to my Lord Bishop and read mine to him. This is all from

Your most affectionate friend
and humble servant,

GEO. HICKES.

I forgot to tell you that the Marquis of Athol bears the blame of the breach of the contract even among his own relations; and that my Lady and her daughter received the news of it with incomparable temper. The Earl of Murray is a good churchman.

To the Reverend Dr. Patrick, in the
Cloister of Westminster Abbey.

LETTER CCCXVIII.

Dr. Hickes to Dr. Patrick upon the same.

[MS. LANSD. 988. fol. 161 b. *Orig.*]

Edinburgh, Jan. 24th. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$.

SIR,

YOUR last I received and showed it to my Lord Duke and Lord Bishop, that they might see how much they were beholden to you, and I assure you they were very sensible of your kindness, as you will find if ever you and they meet.

Last Monday his Majesty's forces marched from hence into the west, and to-morrow the auxiliary forces follow them. There is with them a Committee of the Privy Council, which have as much power as the Privy Council itself, as you have, I hope, seen in that Act of Council which I sent Mr. Smith, and which I desired him to communicate to you. I hope by the next to send you their Instructions at large, that you may see with what wisdom our proceedings have been contrived.

I have something yet left to say of Michell, to whom five hundred dollars were presented from several hands, between his sentence and execution, to fulfil that promise, "yet never saw I the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread."

Within this week several ladies of great quality kept a private fast and a Conventicle in this Town, to seek God to bring to nought the councils of men against his people; and before they parted, all subscribed a paper wherein they covenanted to the utmost of their power to engage their Lords to assist and protect God's people against the devices (as they call all expedients) that are taken to reduce them to order and obedience. Hereafter I will send you their names, but as yet I have given my word not to discover them.

Last night we received information that Sunday was se'nnight, or some day last week, Welsh told a vast congregation of his Western disciples; that they should certainly be hanged, when the forces came amongst them; and that therefore it was far better to resist and fight the Lord's battles with their swords in their hands, and that thereupon they resolved to rebel, and in order thereto rendezvous this day in the Stewartry of Galloway. We all wish it may be true, but I am afraid it is not, although nothing but despair of success can make them forbear; I wish they would try, as they did in 1666, whether God would work miracles for them or no.

You shall hear as soon as any what the event of this expedition will be. Many of the fanatical party and their patrons hope that the Commons of England (who they think are ready to dance to any tune they will play) will grow jealous of these military proceedings,

and engage his Majesty to dislike them, and substitute another in the Duke's stead ; and therefore you must expect to hear a thousand lying stories and misrepresentations of what is done here.

If you have not yet received the Act of Council from Mr. Smith, pray send for it (for it is necessary to make you rightly understand all the future news that will depend thereupon). Let this suffice at present from

Your most faithful friend and servant,

GEORGE HICKES.

For Dr. Patrick,
in the Cloister of Westminster Abbey.

LETTER CCCXIX.

Dr. Hickes to Dr. Patrick. Michell's Trial.

[MS. LANSD. 988. fol. 162 b. *Orig.*]

Edinburgh, Jan. 10th. 7⁷/₈.

SIR,

I RECEIVED two Letters from you since the entrance of the New Year, and am very sensible how much you press yourself to keep correspondence with me ; but I am the most inconsiderable person you oblige by so doing, and therefore you must not grow weary, but hold out now to the end.

* * * * *

I promised you in one of my late letters to give you an account of Mr. Michell's trial, who was arraigned for an attempt he made on the person of the Archbishop of St. Andrews by shooting at him in his coach with a great pistol charged with three bullets, which hit the Bishop of Orkney on the arm, as he was getting into the archbishop's coach. This barbarous fact was done about nine years ago, about two years after the Rebellion of Pentland Hills in the year 1666. Immediately after the fact he escaped, and was in Holland, England, and Ireland, for five years, and at last came into Scotland again, where he married, and after marriage took a shop (where his wife pretended to sell brandy, &c.) under the Archbishop's lodgings in Edinburgh, with a design to assassinate him again. But being known he was seized. There were two charged pistols found upon him, and when the Archbishop saw him first, among many others, he knew him perfectly after five years, although he had never seen him but when he shot at him. After he was seized he was brought before the Council, where my Lord sat as Commissioner, when he was last in Scotland four years since. The Council appointed a Committee to examine him, before which he confessed the fact, and afterwards owned the confession before the Lord Commissioner and the Council, which was registered, and witnessed by his own hand, and the hands of several

counsellors ; which confession was now brought against him at the bar. He was not prosecuted then, because the Archbishop would not pursue him *in Causa Sanguinis*, and the King's Advocate being a fanatic would not, but the Council sent him prisoner to the Basse (an island in the Forth), where he hath been kept ever since. Since my Lord came hither he got his Majesty to remove this advocate (whose name is Sir — Nisbet) and Sir George Mackenzie (almost the only great man of this country) was made his Majesty's advocate in his stead, who upon my Lord's moving, and the Council's, pursued him like a gallant man and a good Christian, and not without much difficulty, and great pains, (so hard it is, and dangerous too, to pursue a bloody Saint to the last justice here) hath got justice done on him ; for this afternoon at two o'clock he was condemned to be hanged the 13th of this instant, in the Grass Market of Edinburgh.

His trial lasted three days ; I was always present ; and many preliminary debates there were which I cannot make a stranger understand. At last all the dilatory exceptions being answered, the Jury was impanelled and the witnesses sworn ; the depositions of some of which I shall here relate.

The keeper of the Tolbooth's son (for so they call the Prison here) deposed, that having asked him how he could do such a barbarous action in cold blood against a man that had done him no wrong, he an-

swered, it was not done in cold blood, for the blood of the Saints is still reeking at the Cross in Edinburgh; by the Saints he meant the Rebels that were hanged and beheaded in that place for the Rebellion in 66.

The Bishop of Galloway deposed, that he confessed to him when he asked him the reason why he did it, that it was because the Archbishop was an enemy to the people of God.

My Lord Hatton, my Lord Duke's brother, deposed that having asked him upon his confession why he did it, that he answered, because the Archbishop was an enemy to the godly people in the West, who rebelled in 66, and were the beginners of all the late disorders here.

These and all the other depositions I heard. This barbarous assassinate is commended as heroic, and compared to the act of Phineas in Naphtali; and in *Jus Populi vindicatum*, which is an answer to Naphtali written by the Bishop of Orkney that was wounded in the Rebellion in 66, and this fact against St. Andrews as a covenant breaker are both defended; but I suppose you have read the books.

Since this presbyterian Ravallac was brought to town, notice was sent to the Archbishop from the west, that if he were condemned, many others were resolved to do the same, so that the poor man is not without just fear.

You cannot imagine how the presbyterian party, especially the women, were concerned for him; the court was full of disaffected villains, and because of my habit and profession I had many affronts done me; for sitting on high with my back towards that side of the court where the zealous rabble were gathered together, near the bar at which the prisoner stood, they railed at my black coat, for so they called my gown, and bespelt it all over, and pelted me now and then with such things as bits of apple and crusts of bread.

Upon the preparation of the forces, Fife hath already submitted; for all the heritors and life-renters have agreed together to give in bonds to the Council for their own and tenants' peaceable demeanour; and on the 15th instant they will be all given in to the Lord Chancellor, and by him to the Council. But the Saints of the West are as impudent as ever, believing, and declaring to believe, that God will find a way to defeat the counsel of his and their enemies; and since Christmas they seized on six Parish Churches, and have appointed clerks and other officers of their own; but within fourteen days they will find what they will not believe.

I now long to be in England to finish that discourse I formerly told you of, of which I see by the people in this country there is so much need: I mean that of which you heard an abstract at the Abbey, founded on the notion of the theocracy. I study here not as I

would but as I can, and my study doth me not half so much good, as if I had my own books and methods. Pray present my service to Dr. Oughtram and Mrs. Oughtram, and your own lady. I wish myself often among you, and I wish myself no greater happiness in this world than always to be in your neighbourhood. My Lord Duke often remembers you and your brother: pray send me a particular account of your delivering the Bishop of Gloucester's letter to the Bishop of Rochester. God send us a happy meeting. I am

Your most affectionate friend and
humble servant,

GEORGE HICKES.

For the Rev. Dr. Patrick,
or Dr. Oughtram,
in the Cloister of Westminster Abbey.

LETTER CCCXX.

Dr. Hickes to Dr. Patrick. Michell's Sentence and Execution.

[MS. LANSD. 988. fol. 165.]

Edinburgh, Jan. 19, 7 $\frac{7}{8}$.

SIR,

I SEND this letter as a Supplement to the story of Michell which I sent you before. When the sentence

of death was pronounced against him, he told the Judges he received it as from God, but not from them. The next day after, he said he would do it if it were to do again, and sent to the Archbishop to desire that one or more of the imprisoned ministers might be permitted to come and give him comfort. Upon which a minister of the town was sent to him, but he refused to discourse with him otherwise than by reproaching of him; calling of him a murderer of souls, and bidding him repent of the blood of souls, when he went to press upon his conscience the horridness of the bloody fact for which he was condemned by men, and of which without repentance he would stand guilty before the tribunal of God.

The Dean of Edinburgh, Mr. Annand, also wrote a letter exhortatory to him, wherein from many texts of the Gospel he endeavoured to convince him how contradictory his principles and practices were to the doctrine of Christianity; to which he returned this answer:

“ Sir,

I received yours, and since my time is so very short and so very precious, I can only thank you for your civility and affection, whether real or pretended; and tell you that I fully close with all the precepts of the Gospel to love and peace, and therefore pray I both for Mr. Sharp and you; but knowing both Mr. Sharp's wickedness, my own sincerity, and the Lord's holy

sovereignty to use his creatures as he pleases, I can only refer the manifestation of my fact to the day of God's righteous and universal judgment; praying heartily that God may have mercy on you, and open your eyes to see both the wickedness of all your ways, and of your godless insulting over an unjustly condemned dying man, and grant unto you repentance and remission of your sin. I am in this

Your well-wisher,

JAMES M."

Having heard that he would not be permitted to speak to the people at his Execution (which was yesterday between two and four in the afternoon) he prepared several copies of a written speech, one whereof being found in his pocket was brought to my Lord. It is long, and the first part containing nothing but calumny and railing against the Privy Council and his Judges. I shall transcribe only the latter end.

"I acknowledge my particular and private sins have been such as have merited a worse death unto me, but I die, in the hope of the merits of Jesus Christ to be freed from those eternal punishments due to me for sin. Yet I am confident God doth not plead with me in this place for my private and particular sins; but I am brought here that the work of God may be made manifest, and for the trial of faith (John, chap. ix. ver. 3. Pet. chap. i. ver. 7.), and that I may be a witness for his despised truth and interest in this land,

who am called to seal the same with my blood ; and I wish heartily that this my poor life may put an end to the persecution of the true members of Christ in this kingdom, so much actuated by these perfidious prelates, and in opposition to whom, and in testimony of the cause of Christ, I at this time willingly lay down my life, and bless God that he hath thought me so much worthy as to do the same for his glory and interest.

“ Finally concerning a Christian duty in a singular or extraordinary case, *anent my particular judgment concerning both Church and State, it is evidently declared and manifested more fully elsewhere.* So farewell all earthly enjoyments, and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, into whose hands I commit my spirit.

JAMES MICHELL.”

The other copies he had in a Psalm-book, and when the Psalm was sung threw them about.

By Mr. Sharp in his Letter to Mr. Annand, he means the Archbishop, whom he attempted ; and concerning his judgment, which in his speech he saith is manifested more clear elsewhere, he means Naphtali. I forgot in my last to tell you, that he was sometime chaplain to Sir Arch. Johnston, called here Laird of Wareston, who was president of the Committee of Safety, and hanged for a traitor at Edinburgh.

Lastly, I here send you a copy of a letter of a silly ridiculous minister, who renounced this church, and

apostatized to the Whigs, whose martyr Michell is. I desire you to keep all my letters and papers concerning these illiterate and bloody villains. Mr. Smith, the secretary's chaplain, will bring you an Act of the Privy Council which I pray you to get transcribed, and communicate as much as you can to satisfy all reasonable men with our proceedings against these bloody rebellious saints. I would have sent you it, but am weary with writing many things, which makes me scribble so ill. I always suppose you remember me to your neighbour, and communicate to him the Letters of him who is entirely yours.

GEORGE HICKES.

The Day of Execution, there was a report that the women of Edinburgh (my good friends) had a design to rescue the malefactor, which made the Lord Provost bring a company of the town forces to the place of execution, to prevent any such design.

A gentleman is come in, who assures me that there are several epitaphs made upon him, whereof one was found this morning at the great Cross, and the other upon the door that lets up the stairs which lead to the Council Chamber in the Parliament House. He tells me also they put epitaphs on his coffin when he was carried to the grave.

To the Rev. Dr. Patrick.

LETTER CCCXXI.

Mr. Henry Savill to his uncle Secretary Coventry.

[MS. HARL. 7001. *art.* 180.]

* * This Letter is introduced to the Reader from the mention which it makes of TEA. It appears from its evidence, that so late as 1678 Tea was not universally used in English families either as a constant or a common beverage. It even complains of persons "who call for TEA instead of Pipes and Bottles after dinner:" designating it as "*a base unworthy INDIAN PRACTICE.*"

Macpherson, in his History of the European Commerce with India, says that Tea is mentioned as the usual beverage of the Chinese by Soliman an Arabian Physician, who wrote an account of his Travels in the East as early as the year 850. But we have no reason to believe that Tea was brought to the Western parts of the World for many succeeding ages; not the slightest mention of it being found in the work of any European author earlier than the sixteenth century.

The most credible conjecture of its Introduction is, that it was one of the articles purchased by the Portuguese when that people were first permitted by the Government of China to trade to Sancian.

Waller, in his Complimentary Verses to King Charles the Second upon his Majesty's Marriage, expressly owns our obligations to the Portuguese for its introduction into England:

The best of Queens, and *best of* HERBS we owe
To that *bold* NATION who the way did show
To the fair Region where the Sun doth rise,
Whose rich productions we so justly prize.

The first authentic notice which Macpherson quotes of Tea as an article of consumption in England is in the Act of Parliament of the 12th Charles II. d. c. 13. A. D. 1660, whereby a duty of eight pence is charged upon every gallon of chocolate, sherbet, and TEA made for sale; while the same quantity of Coffee and even of foreign spirituous liquors is charged at only fourpence.

Macpherson states that the earliest importation of Tea by the East India Company from any part of the Indies, was in 1669, when they

received from Bantam two canisters containing a hundred and forty-three pounds and a half; for it does not appear, he adds, that they had as yet any direct intercourse with China the native country of Tea. This trifling quantity was partly given away in presents, and partly expended in the East India House for the refreshment of the Committee.

In 1678 (the year in which the present Letter is dated), the East India Company began the importation of Tea as a branch of Trade; the quantity received at that time amounting to four thousand seven hundred and thirteen pounds. The importation gradually enlarged, and the Government, in consequence, augmented the duties upon Tea. By the year 1700 the importation of Tea had arrived at the quantity of twenty thousand pounds. In 1721 it exceeded a million of pounds. In 1816 it had arrived at 36,234,380*lbs.* Something more than thirty millions of pounds is probably the present average of importation: some allowance must be made for Tea damaged and spoiled upon the passage.

An earlier testimony of the Introduction of Tea into England than that which Macpherson advances is found in a single Sheet, preserved in Sir Hans Sloane's Library now in the British Museum, of the time of the Usurpation. It is as follows. In the mode recommended for gathering the Tea in leaf; in the great assemblage of its virtues when gathered and prepared for use; and in the price which it originally brought in England, the reader will find some room for astonishment.

"An exact Description of the growth, quality, and vertues of the Leaf TEA by THOMAS GARWAY in Exchange-Alley near the Royal Exchange in London, Tobacconist, and Seller and Retailer of Tea and Coffee.

"Tea is generally brought from China, and groweth there upon little Shrubs or Bushes, the branches whereof are well garnished with white Flowers that are yellow within, of the bigness and fashion of sweet-brier, but in smell unlike, bearing thin green leaves about the bigness of Scordium, Mirtle, or Sumack, and is judged to be a kind of Sumack. This Plant hath been reported to grow wild only, but doth not, for they plant it in their Gardens about four foot distance, and it groweth about four foot high, and of the Seeds they maintain and increase their stock. Of all places in China this Plant groweth in greatest plenty in the Province of Xensi, Latitude 36 degrees, bordering upon the West of the Province of Honam; and in the Province of Namking near the City of Lucheu, there is likewise of the growth of Sinam, Cochin-China, the Island de Ladrones, and Japan, and is called Cha. Of this famous Leaf there are divers sorts (though all of one shape), some much better than other, the upper leaves excelling the other in fineness, a property almost in all Plants; which leaves they gather every day, and drying

them in the shade, or on iron pans over a gentle fire till the humidity be exhausted, then put them up close in leaden pots, and preserve them for their Drink *Tea*, which is used at meals, and upon all Visits and Entertainments in private Families, and in the Palaces of Grandees. And it is averred by a Padre of Macao, native of Japan, that the best Tea ought not to be gathered but by Virgins who are destined to this work, and such, ‘quæ nondum menstrua patiuntur: gemmæ quæ nascuntur in summitate arbuscula servantur Imperatoriæ, ac præcipuis ejus Dynastis; quæ autem infra nascuntur, ad latera, populo conceduntur.’ The said Leaf is of such known virtues, that those very Nations so famous for knowledge and wisdom, do frequently sell it among themselves for twice its weight in silver, and the high estimation of the Drink made therewith hath occasioned an inquiry into the nature thereof among the most intelligent persons of all Nations that have travelled in those parts, who after exact tryal and experience by all ways imaginable, have commended it to the use of their several Countries, for its virtues and operations, particularly as followeth, viz.

“ The Quality is moderately hot, proper for Winter or Summer. The Drink is declared to be most wholesome, preserving in perfect health until extreme old age.

“ The particular Vertues are these. It maketh the body active and lusty. It helpeth the head-ache, giddiness and heaviness thereof. It removeth the obstructions of the spleen. It is very good against the stone and gravel, cleansing the kidneys and ureters, being drank with virgin’s honey instead of sugar. It taketh away the difficulty of breathing, opening obstructions. It is good against lipitude distillations, and cleareth the sight. It removeth lassitude, and cleanseth and purifieth adust humors and a hot liver. It is good against crudities, strengthening the weakness of the ventricle or stomach, causing good appetite and digestion, and particularly for men of a corpulent body, and such as are great eaters of flesh. It vanquisheth heavy dreams, easeth the brain, and strengtheneth the memory. It overcometh superfluous sleep, and prevents sleepiness in general, a draught of the Infusion being taken, so that without trouble whole nights may be spent in study without hurt to the body, in that it moderately heateth and bindeth the mouth of the stomach. It prevents and cures agues, surfeits, and feavers, by infusing a fit quantity of the leaf, thereby provoking a most gentle vomit and breathing of the pores, and hath been given with wonderful success. It (being prepared and drank with milk and water) strengtheneth the inward parts, and prevents consumptions, and powerfully assuageth the pains of the bowels, or griping of the guts and looseness. It is good for colds, dropsies, and scurvies, if properly infused; purging the blood by sweat

and urine, and expelleth infection. It drives away all pains in the cholic proceeding from wind, and purgeth safely the gall.

“ And that the vertues and excellencies of this Leaf and Drink are many and great, is evident and manifest by the high esteem and use of it (especially of late years) among the Physicians and knowing men in France, Italy, Holland, and other parts of Christendom ; and in ENGLAND it hath been sold in the Leaf for *six pounds*, and sometimes for *TEN pounds* the pound weight, and in respect of its former scarceness and dearness, it hath been only used as a Regalia in high Treatments and Entertainments, and Presents made thereof to Princes and Grandees, till the year 1657.

The said Thomas Garway did purchase a quantity thereof, and first publickly sold the said Tea in Leaf and Drink made according to the directions of the most knowing Merchants and Travellers into those Eastern Countries : and upon knowledge and experience of the said Garway's continued care and industry in obtaining the best *Tea*, and making Drink thereof, very many Noblemen, Physicians, Merchants, and Gentlemen of quality have ever since sent to him for the said Leaf, and daily resort to his House in Exchange Alley aforesaid to drink the Drink thereof.

“ And that Ignorance nor Envy may have no ground or power to report or suggest that what is here asserted of the vertues and excellencies of this precious Leaf and Drink hath more of design than truth, for the justification of himself and satisfaction of others, he hath here enumerated several Authors, who in their learned Works have expressly written and asserted the same, and much more in honour of this noble Leaf and Drink, viz. Bontius, Riccius, Jarricus, Almeyda, Horstius, Alvarez Semeda, Martinius in his *China Atlas*, and Alexander de Rhodes in his *Voyage and Missions* in a large discourse of the ordering of this Leaf and the many vertues of the Drink, printed at Paris 1653, part 10. chap. 13.

“ And to the end that all persons of eminency and quality, gentlemen, and others, who have occasion for *Tea* in leaf may be supplied, these are to give notice that the said Thomas Garway hath *TEA to sell* from *SIXTEEN to FIFTY SHILLINGS* the pound.

“ And whereas several Persons using *COFFEE*, have been accustomed to buy the powder thereof by the pound, or in lesser or greater quantities, which if kept two days looseth much of its first goodness. And forasmuch as the Berries after drying may be kept if need require some months ; therefore all persons being remote from London, and have occasion for the said powder, are advised to buy the said Coffee berries ready dried ; which being in a mortar beaten, or in a mill ground to powder, as they use it, will so often be brisk, fresh, and fragrant, and in

its full vigour and strength as if new prepared, to the great satisfaction of the Drinkers thereof, as hath been experienced by many in this City. Which commodity of the best sort, the said Thomas Garway hath always ready dried to be sold at reasonable rates.

“ Also such as will have *COFFEE* in powder, or the Berries undried, or *CHOCOLATE*, may by the said Thomas Garway be supplied to their content : with such further Instructions and perfect Directions how to use *Tea*, *Coffee*, and *Chocolate*, as is, or may be needful, and so as to be efficacious and operative, according to their several vertues.

“ FINIS.

“ *Advertisement.*

“ That Nicholas Brook, living at the Sign of the Frying-pan in St. Tulies-Street against the Church, is the only known man for making of Mills for grinding of Coffee powder, which Mills are by him sold from 40 to 45 shillings the Mill.”

The Coffee House named in the preceding Paper still exists as *Garra-way's Coffee House*. Secretary Pepys, in his Diary, vol. i. p. 76. without saying where he had his drink, makes the following entry, “ Sept. 25th. 1660. I did send for a Cup of Tea (a China drink) of which I never had drank before, and went away.”

Paris, Aug. 12, 1678.

THOUGH as a Secretary of State I ought not to trouble you but with things relating to the good of the Public Weal, as an Uncle methinks I may sometimes present you my duty, which is no small favour ; for, as I take it, my friends have as little to brag of my duty as of any relation they have, I having been pretty sparing of it, and they may thank God when I am in the humour to pay it, though I do not ; for methinks it is an ill sign when after five and thirty years old, a

man changes for any thing, and I am so afraid that my decent behaviour is rather a sign of age than virtue, that I begin to repine at the least act of mine that seems to have any decency in it. All the comfort I have in this contemplation is, laying a part of this upon your kindness to me, and the good reception I always find at your house, more especially that arbitrary dominion I am suffered to exercise over that most notable minister of state your Butler. These I hope are the charms that have prevailed with me to remember (that is to trouble) you oftener than I am apt to do other of my friends, whose Buttery-hatch is not so open, *and who call for TEA* instead of Pipes and Bottles after dinner; *a base unworthy Indian practice*, and which I must ever admire your most Christian family for not admitting. The truth is, all nations are grown so wicked as to have some of these filthy customs.

The vice of this flourishing Kingdom being not to sit long enough by two hours at table, and by that time one is well sate and settled to an admirable dinner, every body rises in haste upon the news that the King has dined, as if what filled his belly filled those of all his subjects; and that it were treason to be hungry (though fasting) when the King had dined; so that in more senses than one it may be said, no man in France can eat but the King. I dread my share of this tyranny when I go to Fontainbleau: the day for that

voyage being Monday se'nnight; and a little after, every snip of a statesman must follow for his own credit. And though I have no commission to justify my pretensions to wisdom, the French are so much better discoverers of men's abilities than the English, that all the world cannot beat it out of men's heads but that I am in the deepest of the secret of Peace and War; and they rely upon nothing more than my prudence for a good conclusion of so weighty an affair. After this, would not one think that they are all witches here? for alas! what have I done to give the least suspicion of this kind? I appeal to all my friends, all my relations, and all my acquaintance whether I have deserved this at any body's hands, and whether I look more like a carrier of peace than several of my acquaintance that are gone into Flanders look like carriers of war. For my part I am a modest man, and neither desire to be painted with an olive-branch in my mouth, nor a general's staff in my hand; a glass of wine shall serve my turn in both, and the very next shall be to your health, and so God bless you my ever honoured Uncle, and Right Honourable Secretary of State.

LETTER CCCXXII.

The Duke of Monmouth to Sir Robert Atkins, A. D.
1679.

[FROM THE *Orig.* IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.]

* * The disgrace of Monmouth to which this Letter relates, was followed by the King's Declaration respecting Lucy Walters, printed in the former Series.

For seventeen or eighteen years the suspicion was kept alive at intervals, that Monmouth might by some chance be made the Successor to the Crown ; for the King was not looked upon as the only person who secretly encouraged the intention. That the Report prevailed not only after the Duke had left England by order, but even after the King's Declaration of 1680, will be seen in the Letter which follows this.

SIR,

Whitehall, 19th. Sept.

I HAVE received the King's commands to go out of England for some time, and in obedience thereto, I am preparing myself for my journey. But before I go I am willing to make the settlement of my Estate, and I am informed that one part of it must be done in the presence of one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, who being all out of town at this time, I take the liberty to desire you would give yourself the trouble to come to London on Monday next, wherein you will very particularly oblige,

Sir,

Your humble servant,

MONMOUTH.

For Sir Robert Atkins, Bart. one of his Majesty's Justices of the Common Pleas, at his house near Barnet.

LETTER CCCXXIII.

*Dr. Zacheus Isham Dean of Christ Church Oxford,
to Dr. Edmund Borlase. Rumours after the Dis-
solution of the Parliament at Oxford.*

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 1008. fol. 112. Orig.]

Christ Church, Mar. 31, 1681.

SIR,

WE have not been so much an University here of late as a Stage, upon which very sudden turns and changes of state affairs have been acted; but what denomination the Drama must have cannot appear till the event, for the last act is not yet come, and we must expect other revolutions. Indeed the Dissolution of the Parliament was very surprising to all here, as well as to the Country; and to me the mystery of it seems to be in the dark: but truth will not always be so, and in time we may hope to see the plots and contrivances of our disturbers unravelled and defeated.

We have a long story here of a private conference between the King and the Earl of Shaftesbury, who proposed to him the declaring of the Duke of M. to be legitimate, and the enriching of himself by the Churchlands; but the King firmly rejected both these proposals as unjust. I will not warrant the truth of this relation, but it is confidently reported amongst us; and if it be

true, the designs of our leading patriots, (as they would be thought,) are sufficiently manifested.

It is no less warmly discoursed of here, that the next Parliament will be called hither about November : but I am not apt to believe, that his Majesty will be inclined to have another so soon.

Sir, what transactions were done and carrying on in the short Parliament here you must certainly be well informed, having the mouth of it at Chester, and therefore I shall not pretend to give you any account of it : but had their stay been longer, I should sometimes have ventured to give you a taste of my improvement among our politicians ; because I find that you are so highly favourable to me as to accept of my correspondence ; though truly, Sir, you are not very likely to thrive by this trade, for you exchange gold for brass. However, Sir, I am very well pleased with this intercourse, which is so advantageous to me ; nor will you lose much by this traffic, because your communications, like those^a light, diminish not the fountain ; and besides, not^b . . . what I gain from you is still yours ; but I am so entirely myself as being,

Sir,

Your most obedient
and most devoted servant.

Z. ISHAM.

For the most honoured Dr. Edmund
Borlase, at his house in West Chester, these.

^a Qu. of the.

^b Qu. note that.

LETTER CCCXXIV.

*Sir James Dick, Bart. Lord Provost of Edinburgh,
to Mr. Ellies at London. The Duke of York ship-
wrecked on the Sand-bank called the Lemon and Ore.*

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 5719. FROM SIR JAMES DICK'S BOOK OF
LETTERS.]

. The Duke of York was wrecked upon the Lemon and Ore, about sixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber, on the morning of May 5th, 1682.

Sir James Dick, the writer of this Letter, in consequence, assumed for his crest a Ship in distress and sinking, with the motto "*At Spes infracta.*"

Edinburgh, 9th. of May, 1682.

DEAR SIR,

UPON Sunday, at eight o'clock at night, his Royal Highness with his retinue arrived safe here, there being a most sad disaster upon the Saturday before, at eleven o'clock in the morning;^a the man of war called the Gloster, Sir John Barrie Captain, wherein his Highness was, and a great retinue of noblemen and gentlemen, whereof I was one, the said ship did strike in pieces and did wholly sink in a Bank of sand called the Lemon and Ore, about twelve leagues from Yarmouth. This was occasioned by the wrong calcul and ignorance of a Pilot, and put us all in such con-

^a Kennett, Hist. Engl. vol. iii. p. 404. places this Accident the day before, "on Friday, May 5th."

sternation that we knew not what to do: the Duke and all that were with him being in bed when she first struck. The helm having broke, the man was killed by the force thereof at the first shock.

When the Duke got his clothes on and inquired how things stood, she had nine feet water in her hold, and the sea fast coming in at the gun-ports; the seamen and passengers were not at command, every man studying his own safety. This forced the Duke to go out at the large window of the cabin where his little boat was ordered quietly to attend him, lest the passengers and seamen should have thronged so in upon him, as to upset his boat. This was accordingly so conducted as that none but Earl Winton and the President of the Session, with two of the bed-chamber men, went with him. They were forced to draw their swords to hold people off.

We seeing they were gone, did cause tackle out with great difficulty the Ship's boat, wherein the Earl of Perth got, and then I went by jumping off the shrouds; the Earl of Middleton immediately after me did jump in upon my shoulders; withal there came the Laird of Touch with several others, besides the seamen that were to row, which was thought a sufficient number for her loading, considering there was going so great a sea, occasioned by the wind at North East; and we seeing that at the Duke's boat side, there was one overwhelmed by reason of the greatness of the sea, which drowned the whole in her except two men, whom

we saw riding on her keel. This made us desire to be gone, but before we were loose, there leaped from the shrouds about twenty or twenty-four seamen in upon us, which made all the spectators and ourselves to think we would sink, and all having given us over for lost, did hinder an hundred more from leaping in upon us.

With those that were left was Lord Roxburgh and Laird Hopton, and Mr. Littledel, Roxburgh's servant, Doctor Livingston, and the President of the Sessions' man, and my servant. They all being at the place when I jumped would not follow, because it seems they concluded it more safe to stay in the vessel than to expose themselves to our hazard; all which persons in an instant were washed off and drowned.

There will be perished in this disaster above two hundred persons, for I reckon there were two hundred and fifty seamen, and I am sure there were eighty noblemen, gentlemen, and their servants; my computation was that there were three hundred and thirty in all, of which I cannot learn that a hundred and thirty are found alive.

Our difficulties and hazards that were in this boat were wonderful. If the rest had not thought us all dead men, I am sure many more would have jumped in upon us. We were so thronged we had no room to stand, and when we were forcing ourselves from the ship, she being sinking by degrees all the time; and besides the surfs were so boisterous that we were like to be struck in pieces upon the wreck so

sinking, it was not but with great difficulty that we forced out the boat from the ship; and when we came to row to the nearest yacht, the waves were such, we being overloaded, that every moment we thought to have been drowned; and being about midway to the yachts, there were a great many swimming for their lives, who caught a dead gripe of our boat, holding up their heads above the water and crying for help; which hinderance was put off and their hands loosed, by telling them they would both lose themselves and us; yet this would not do to make them loose their gripe, till they were forced off by several in our boat, except one that took hold of me, whom I caused catch into the boat, lest I should have been pulled out by him; and when it pleased God to bring us wonderfully to one of the yacht's side, being not less than a quarter of a mile distant from our ship, they not daring to come nearer by reason of the sand bank upon which we were wrecked; and if we had not shot off guns, shewing them our distress, the other men of war that were immediately following would have met with the same disaster; but they immediately bore off. The four yachts came as near as they could, and put off their boats to help us, but all that could be done could not prevent this great loss of about two hundred men. I was in my gown and slippers, lying in bed, when she first struck, and did escape in that condition; and when unexpectedly and wonderfully we came to the

yacht's side, called Captain Saunders, we were like to be crushed to pieces by it, which by reason of the great sea was like to run us down.

At last a rope was cast, which was so managed that we were brought to the lee side, then every man climbed for his life, and so did I, taking hold of a rope, and made shift upon the side till I came within men's reach, and was hauled in; and I then looked back but could not see one bit of our Great Ship above water, but about a Scots ell long of the staff upon which the Royal Standard stood; for with her striking she had come off the sand bank which was but three fathoms, and her draught was eighteen feet. There was eighteen fathoms water upon each side when she struck, and so did sink in the deepest place. Now if she had continued upon the three fathoms, and broke in pieces there, all would have had time to have saved themselves; but such was the misfortune, that she was wholly overwhelmed, and all washed into the sea that were upon her decks. There would have been relief by boats if she had stood half an hour longer.

So to conclude this melancholy account, all the above persons, our countrymen, that were of respect, are as I have told. Of Englishmen of respect there were lost Lord O'Brien and Lord Hyde's brother, who was lieutenant of the ship; and a number of noblemen and gentlemen's servants, which I cannot name. I can hardly speak with any that were aboard with the

Duke but they have lost of servants more or less. God make me thankful for this wonderful deliverance.

I believe I shall have trouble now that both my Lord Roxburgh and his man are lost, to recover payment of these bills: all my clothes and papers are lost, having nothing saved but the twenty guineas which were in my little pocket with my watch, and the little box with my wife's ring and necklace; but for my papers, I rolled them up in a handkerchief, and put them off me, so that both the King's letter for the £1200 sterling, and the accompt I filed with you, are gone.

Yesterday his Royal Highness called the King's Council, and there the King's will was declared as to his Chancellor, who was the President of the Session; my Lord Queensberry for Treasurer, and Lord Perth Justice-General which Queensberry had before.

Notwithstanding the disaster his Highness met with in this last sea voyage, yet he is within five or six days, with his Duchess and the Lady Anne, to take shipping for London.

JAMES DICK.

To Mr. Ellies, in London.

THE reader will do well to compare the Letter which he has just read, with the very different statement which Hume gives of the circumstances of the Shipwreck. He says, "As the King was master in England, and no longer dreaded the clamours of the country party, he permitted the Duke to pay him a visit; and was soon after prevailed on to allow of his return to England, and of his bearing a part in the administration. The

Duke went to Scotland, in order to bring up his family, and settle the government of that country; and he chose to take his passage by sea. The Ship struck on a sand-bank, and was lost; *the Duke escaped in the BARGE*; and it is pretended, that while many persons of rank and quality were drowned, and among the rest Hyde, his brother-in-law, *he was very careful to save several of his DOGS and PRIESTS*; for these two species of favourites are coupled together by some writers. It has likewise been asserted, *that the BARGE might safely have held more persons*, and that some who swam to it were thrust off, and even their hands cut, in order to disengage them."

Among the persons of consequence who perished at this time, beside those who are mentioned in the Letter, was Sir John Douglas.

The commander, Sir John Berry (called Barrie by Sir James Dick), escaped by a rope over the vessel's stern. He was afterwards examined before the Privy Council, when the King, having satisfied himself that no fault attached to him, gave him the command of another vessel, the *Henrietta*, destined for the Coast of Ireland.

LETTER CCCXXV.

Lady Rachel Russell to

[BRIT. MUS. *Orig.* PRESENTED BY JOHN WILMOT, ESQ.]

Woburn Abbey, April 30, 84.

SIR,

YOURS of the 20th of April I have read; your Prayers and Wishes are kindly accepted by your afflicted servant; who have no other shadow of comfort but to find myself at all esteemed by worthy persons, and those had so for, and were so by that loved friend

my soul longs to meet again. When at any time you allow me the like favour, and I am not in London (as I purpose it not yet) if your Letters be left at my Servant's house who brings this to your Servant, they will be carefully and safely delivered me. I have appointed him, at his giving this to your servant, to direct him where he shall find him; his name is Benjamin Portdaye, his house in Great Russell Street near Montague House; he shall be very punctual to your servant. Till I have a return to this from you, Sir, you shall receive no further trouble from your ever mournful but

obliged faithful servant,

R. RUSSELL.

OF the Illness which immediately preceded the death of Charles the Second a very full and curious detail in Latin is preserved in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, together with copies of the Prescriptions administered (two of them signed by no fewer than fourteen Physicians), and an Account of the appearances of his Majesty's body when opened; the whole completely removing the suspicion that the King was taken off by poison.

It begins,

“ Feb. 2^o, 1684.

“ Ad octavam præcisè horam Rex serenissimus Carolus II. lecto recens relicto, dum in cubiculo leniter inambulabat, inordinatum quandam in cerebro sensit motum, cui mox aphonía motusque convulsivi vehementiores succedebant.

“ Aderant fortè tunc ex Medicis Regiis omnino duo, qui, ut tanto Regum optimi periculo maturè prospicerent, venam ei in brachio dextro aperuerunt, sanguinisque eduxerunt uncias circiter sedecim.

“ Interim et cæteri Medici, per celerrimos nuncios advocati, in Regis subsidium convolarunt; habitoque inter se consilio, omnem navarunt operam, ut periclitanti Majestati suppetias ferrent præsentaneas.”

* * * * *

On the morning of the 6th. it is said,

“ Cæterum (Eheu !) intempestâ jam nocte S. R. vires usque adeo infractæ videbantur, ut *totus* MEDICORUM CHORUS ab omni spe destitutus animum desponderit; ne tamen ullâ in re officio suo viderentur deesse, generosissimum illud Cardiacum instituunt

℞ *Antidoti Raleighianæ* 3j.

Julap. Perlat. cochl. 5.

Sp. Salis Armoniac. succinat.

g^{ss}. xx. M. statim propinentur.

“ Novissimo huic mæstissimoque Medicorum Conventui aderant, C. Scarburgh, E. Dickenson, E. Browne, R. Brady, T. Short, C. Farell, T. Witherby, T. Millington, R. Lower, P. Barwick, J. Le Febure.

“ Aderat etiam inclytus ille heros, Regis frater unicus Regnique optimo jure hæres, Jacobus hinc Eboraci quidem et Albanîæ Dux illustrissimus, hodiè vero Britanniarum augustissimus Monarcha, qui summa in Regem pietate et plusquam fraterno amore affectus, de illius salute usque adeo sollicitus fuit, ut a decumbentis lecto vix unquam decedere sustinuerit, nunc totus in luctu versans, nunc sedulus exequendis Medicorum consiliis ipsemet invigilans aliàs ab Archiatro Cælesti opem auxiliumque ardentissimis precibus votisque et gemitibus subinde effusis implorans, ut omnibus constiterit maluisse ipsum charissimi fratris consortio perfrui, quam Sceptro, frustrâ reluctantibus Fatis. Nam post tot amicorum vota et suspiria, post omne genus medelæ a fidissimis juxta et eruditissimis Medicis tentatum, Regum optimus orthopnæa lethali ex improvise correptus, quæ cum subinde violentiam remitteret, mox acrius recrudesceret, fomite mali perpetuo superstite, tandem toto naturæ robore dolorum immanitate attrito, mortalem coronam placide deposuit, ut acciperet immortalem.

“ Expiravit Februar. sexto paulo post meridiem, anno ætatis quinquagesimo quarto ad finem decurrente.”

The following is the Account of the Opening of the Body :

“ IN Caroli Secundi augustissimi Britanniarum Regis Corpore aperto post mortem reperiabantur,

1°. In cerebri cortice Venæ et Arteriæ super modum repletæ.

2°. Cerebri tum ventriculi omnes serosâ quâdam materiâ inundati, tum ipsa substantia consimili humore haud leviter imbuta.

3°. Thoraci dextri lateris Pulmones Pleuræ tenaciter adhærentes, sinis-

tra vero plane liberi, quemadmodum ex Naturæ instituto in sanis esse solet.

4°. Pulmonum substantia neutiquam culpanda quidem sed sanguine referta.

5°. Cor amplum firmumque, et in omnibus rectissimè formatum.

6°. In infimo ventre nihil præter naturale, nisi quod hepatis color ad lividitatem inclinaret, fortè a sanguinis inibi restitantis pleonasmo, quo renes et lien cernebantur suffarcinati."

The total of the "MEDICORUM CHORUS," as appears from the Signatures to the different Prescriptions, included also the Doctors, Gu. Charleton, Edm. King, C. Frazier, Fer. Mendes, and M. Lister. In all SIXTEEN.

IN the preceding Series the DEATH-BED SCENE OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND, *surrounded by the Protestant Bishops*, has been fully described. Nevertheless it is equally undoubted that he *received the rites of the ROMISH CHURCH* the day before his death.

Dr. Birch, among his Papers bequeathed to the Museum, has a copy of a Letter from one J. Aprice, to his brother-in-law Mr. William Lynwood of Deane in Northamptonshire, detailing Father Hudleston's Account to him of his administering extreme unction to the King. Dr. Birch has added a "Note of the Bishop of Lincoln" at the end, in these words: "The original Letter is now in the hands of Mrs. Eyre of Stamford, and J. Aprice abovementioned was a Romish priest and relation of hers, as was also Mr. Lynwood to whom the Letter was written."

It is not generally known, however, that Father Hudleston's own Account is extant in print, published under the patronage of James the Second and the Queen Dowager, in a Work of which the following is the Title:

"*A Short and Plain Way to the Faith and Church: composed many years since by that eminent Divine Mr. RICHARD HUDLESTON of the English Congregation of the Order of St. Benedict; and now published for the common good, by his nephew Mr. JO. HUDLESTON of the same Congregation. To which is annexed his late Majesty King Charles the Second his Papers found in his Closet after his decease. As also A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF WHAT OCCURRED ON HIS DEATH-BED IN REGARD TO RELIGION. Permissu Superiorum.*" London, 1688, quarto.

The dedication of this Tract is "To the Queen Dowager." John Hudleston declares himself, in it, to have been in Her Majesty's service from the time of her first Accession, and that the Book which had been written by his uncle was first seen by him "in his retirement at Moseley in Staffordshire."

The Dedication is followed by "The Publisher (John Hudleston himself) to the Reader." Hudleston here gives an Account of his Uncle's life and Studies, and states that the Work, the title of which has been just copied, was instrumental in King Charles the Second's conversion. He then says,

"There are none so ignorant who have not heard of the defeat of his late Majesty's Army by the Rebels at Worcester, on the 3^d. September 1651; and of the then Preservation of His sacred life and person by the care and fidelity of his catholic subjects, of whom I acknowledge myself the most unworthy. In this sad conjuncture it was, that the desolate King after having been harassed to and fro, Night and Day, in continual fatigues and perils, from Wednesday the day of the battle till Sunday following, at last found an Asylum and Refuge at Mr. Whitgrave's House at Moseley, whither divine Providence, not long before, brought me, and where I had first the honor of attending upon him. During this retreat, whilst Mr. Whitgrave, his Lady, and Mother, (who alone of all the Household were privy to the secret) were often busied in watching and other discharges of their duty towards his accommodation and safeguard, His Majesty was pleased to entertain himself for the most part with me in my chamber, by perusing several of my books, amongst others he took up this present Treatise then a Manuscript, lying on the table of a closet adjacent to my Chamber. He read it; he seriously considered it; and after mature deliberation pronounced this Sentence upon it (viz.) 'I have not seen any thing more plain and clear upon this subject: the Arguments here drawn from succession are so conclusive, I do not conceive how they can be denied.' Now that this was not any sudden motion or superficial compliment of His Majesty, but the product of a real and solid conviction is manifest by the tenor and gravity of the words themselves; by the Papers found in his Closet after his decease under his own hand, which seem even to the very manner of expression to breathe the same spirit and genius with that of the book; and lastly by those truly Christian Catholic resolutions he took (albeit through frailty late) in disposing himself for an happy departure out of this World by an entire reconciliation to God and the Church."

At the end of the Tract, p. 31. we have Copies of Two Papers written by the late King Charles II. of "blessed memory." ^a

The first concerns the Declaration of the King that the Roman Catholic is the only true Church. At the close of it is this Attestation.

"This is a true Copy of a Paper I found in the late King my Brother's strong Box, written in his own hand.

J. R."

^a These have been printed more than once.

The second is to the same effect, showing that the Roman Catholic is the true Church "from whence there can be no Appeal." Attested

"This is a true Copy.

J. R."

Afterward comes

"A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF PARTICULARS OCCURRING AT THE HAPPY DEATH OF OUR LATE SOVEREIGN LORD KING CHARLES THE 2^d. IN REGARD TO RELIGION; FAITHFULLY RELATED BY HIS THEN ASSISTANT MR. JO. HUDLESTON.

"Upon Thursday the Fifth of February, 1685, between Seven and Eight a Clock in the Evening, I was sent for in hast to the Queen's Back-stairs at Whitehal, and desired to bring with me all things necessary for a dying Person. Accordingly I came, and was order'd not to stir from thence till further notice. Being thus obliged to wait, and not having had time to bring along with me the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar, I was in some anxiety how to procure it: In this conjuncture (the Divine Providence so disposing) Father Bento de Lemos a Portuguez came thither, and understanding the circumstance I was in, readily profer'd himself to go to St. James's and bring the most Holy Sacrament along with him.

"Soon after his departure I was call'd into the King's Bed Chamber, where approaching to the bed side, and kneeling down, I in brief presented his Majesty with what service I could perform for God's honor, and the happiness of his Soul at this last moment on which Eternity depends. The King then declared himself: That he desired to die in the Faith and Communion of the Holy Roman Catholic Church; That he was most heartily sorry for all the Sins of his life past, and particularly for that he had deferred his Reconciliation so long; That through the Merits of Christ's passion he hoped for Salvation; That he was in charity with all the world; That with all his heart he pardoned his Enemies and desired pardon of all those whom he had any wise offended, and that if it pleased God to spare him longer life, he would amend it, detesting all Sin.

"I then advertis'd His Majesty of the benefit and necessity of the Sacrament of Penance, which advertisement the King most willingly embracing, made an exact Confession of his whole Life with exceeding compunction and tenderness of heart; which ended, I desired him, in farther sign of Repentance and true sorrow for his Sins, to say with me this little short Act of Contrition.

"O my Lord God, with my whole heart and soul I detest all the Sins of my Life past for the Love of Thee, whom I love above all things; and I firmly purpose by thy Holy Grace never to offend thee

‘ more, Amen, sweet Jesus, Amen. Into thy hands, sweet Jesus, I commend my Soul; Mercy, sweet Jesus, Mercy.’

“ This he pronounced with a clear and audible voice, which done, and his sacramental penance admitted, I gave him Absolution.

“ After some time thus spent, I asked His Majesty if he did not also desire to have the other Sacraments of the Holy Church administred to him? He replied, ‘ By all means I desire to be partaker of all the helps and succours necessary and expedient for a catholic Christian in my condition.’ I added, ‘ And doth not your Majesty also desire to receive the pretious Body and Blood of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ in the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist?’ His answer was this: ‘ If I am worthy, pray fail not to let me have it.’ I then told him, it would be brought to him very speedily, and desired His Majesty, that, in the interim, he would give me leave to proceed to the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, he replied, ‘ With all my heart;’ I then anoyled him, which as soon as perform’d I was cal’d to the door, whither the Blessed Sacrament was now brought and delivered to me.

“ Then returning to the King, I entreated His Majesty that he would prepare and dispose himself to receive. At which the King raising up himself, said, ‘ Let me meet my Heavenly Lord in a better posture than in my bed.’ But I humbly begg’d His Majesty to repose himself: God Almighty who saw his heart, would accept of his good intention. The King then having again recited the forementioned Act of Contrition with me, he received the most Holy Sacrament for his Viaticum with all the symptoms of devotion imaginable. The Communion being ended, I read the usual Prayers termed ‘ the Re commendation of the Soul,’ appointed by the Church for Catholics in his condition. After which the King desired the Act of Contrition: ‘ O my Lord God,’ &c. to be repeated: this done, for his last spiritual encouragement I said,

“ ‘ Your Majesty hath now received the Comfort and Benefit of all the Sacraments that a good Christian (ready to depart out of this World) can have or desire. Now it rests only, That you think upon the Death and Passion of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, of which I present unto you this figure’ (shewing him a Crucifix); ‘ lift up therefore the Eyes of your Soul, and represent to yourself your sweet Saviour here crucified: bowing down his head to kiss you: his arms stretched out to embrace you: his body and members all bloody and pale with death to redeem you: and, as you see him dead and fixed upon the Cross for your redemption, so have his remembrance fixed and fresh in your heart: beseech him, with all humility, that his most precious blood may not be shed in vain for you: and that it will please him by the merits of his bitter death and passion to pardon and forgive you all your Offences: and finally to receive your Soul into his blessed hands; and when it shall

please him to take it out of this transitory World, to grant you a joyfull Resurrection and an eternal Crown of Glory in the next. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.'

"So, recommending His Majesty on my knees, with all the transport of Devotion I was able, to the divine mercy and protection, I withdrew out of the Chamber.

"In testimony of all which I have hereunto subscribed my Name.

JO. HUDLESTON."

The Editor has been informed that in a Diary still extant of Philip Earl of Chesterfield, who was immediately about the person of King Charles the Second, the particulars of father Hudleston's admission to the King on this occasion are recorded. M. Barillon, also, in his Letter to Louis the Fourteenth, printed in the Appendix to Mr. Fox's History of the Early Part of the Reign of James the Second, written immediately after Charles's death, corroborates Hudleston's Narrative in the main facts. Hudleston's introduction to the King was certainly intended to have been a secret, but Barillon very properly believed that it could not long be kept: "*cependant les femmes de la Reine, et les autres prêtres, ont vu tant d'allées et de venues, que je ne pense pas que le secret puisse être long tems gardé.*" Barillon says, that Hudleston had a wig and cassock to disguise him: "*on lui donna une perruque et une cassaque pour le déguiser.*" The Duke of York who introduced him to the King said, "*Sire, voici un homme qui vous à sauvé la vie, et qui vient à cette heure pour sauver votre ame. Le Roi repondit, qu'il soit le bien venu.*" Hudleston's Interview lasted for three quarters of an hour.

LETTERS
OF
THE REIGNS OF
KING JAMES THE SECOND,
AND
K. WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY.

THE Letters of the Reigns of KING JAMES THE SECOND and KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY are here combined, not only because it is impossible to separate one Reign from the other at the immediate moment of the Revolution, but because King James retained possession of a part of his Irish territory till the Battle of the Boyne drove him finally from his Dominions.

Of the Reign of KING WILLIAM *alone*, Two Letters only are given.

Those which relate to the REVOLUTION tell the daily story of their time. A political Change of such importance never perhaps took place in any Country with less of violence and bloodshed. Public Feeling was certainly moderated, if it was not entirely subdued, by the recollections of the Great Rebellion.

LETTER CCCXXVI.

. to Mr. Ellis, Secretary of the Revenue in Ireland. Hampden said to be reprieved. Some of the Bishops falling out of favour.

[MS. DONAT. 4194. pag. 1. Orig.]

* * * This with numerous other Letters in the Donation Volume, 4194, many of which are here transcribed, are without the signature of the writer. The Post-marks, however, authenticate the transmission of the Letters, and a Seal of Arms upon two or three, affords a presumption that the name of the writer must have been the same with that of the person to whom the Letters were sent. The Arms are those of Ellis of the West Riding of Yorkshire. The writer was probably a cousin to the Secretary of the Revenue in Ireland; from passages in one or two of the Letters he could not have been a brother. He held a post about the Government, and in one or two instances mentions himself as attending King James's Levies.

London, Jan. 5th. 168⁵.

DEAR SIR,

I HAD yours of the 19th. I suppose, but it bore no date. I hope your Lord Lieutenant is safely arrived by this time, though some of our inspired folks said on Saturday he was cast away, and he could not be at the water-side till Thursday evening. The whole discourse both in City and amongst the under-spurr-leathers of the Court is that Hambden is to die on Friday,^a but he himself has better knowledge of what

^a John Hampden, Esq. He had been arraigned for high-treason, as connected with Lord Russel, and had pleaded guilty.

usage he is likely to receive from Court ; and I am well informed that the warrant that they say was signed for his execution was a reprieve ; though in the Recorder's Roll of the condemned, his name was crossed amongst the designed for execution. A strong report now goes likewise of a Session of Parliament ; but those behind the curtain say not. I apprehend Delamer in much danger ; his trial comes on on Thursday next week.

The Bishop of London's fame runs high in the vogue of the people. The London pulpits ring strong peals against Popery ; and I have lately heard there never were such eminently able men to serve in those cures. The Lord Almoner Ely is thought to stand upon too narrow a base now in his Majesty's favor,^a from a late violent Sermon on the Fifth of November. I saw him yesterday at the King's Levy, and very little notice taken of him, which the more confirms what I heard. Our old friend the new Bishop St. John gave a smart answer to a (no very well put) Question of his M—— with respect to him, that shows he is not altogether formed of court-clay ; but neither you nor I shall withdraw either of our friendship for him on such an account.

We have still whispers of new Law men : Chief

^a Francis Turner bishop of Ely. He had preached the Sermon at King James the Second's Coronation. He was discovered to have corresponded with the Court of St. Germans, and in 1690 was deprived for refusing to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary.

Justice, Attorney, and Solicitor General: but who succeeds I can [not] hear yet further than that Allibone says he will do fine things in a great place. The latter end of next month we are likely to see you. I hear of rare matters putting in order in Scotland; Religious Houses settled; &c.: but more of that hereafter as I hear the bruit of it. Lem^{ll}. Kingdon is patching up again. Adieu in haste.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary of
his Majesty's Revenue in Ireland,
Dublin.

LETTER CCCXXVII.

The same to the same. Hampden reprieved. The Bishop of London in disgrace. A Pardon granted to Roman Catholic Officers for holding their commands without taking the Test.

[IBID. p. 3. Orig.]

January 9th. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$.

SIR,

I THANK you for your last Letter. I gave the inclosed to Sam, who is well, and we drank your health to-day at friend Colletts. I suppose it will be no news to tell you that Mr. Hambden is reprieved, and it is believed will be pardoned; or that my Lord Bishop

of London^a is no longer a Privy Councillor or Dean of the Chapel, which places the Bishop of Durham fills. Yesterday a Proclamation was ordered for the proroguing the Parliament till 10th. May next; and then not to sit unless there be special occasion. This day came into our office a Pardon for the Roman Catholic Officers now in the Army of all pains and forfeitures incurred by their holding their commands without taking the Test, &c. and a dispensation for them to hold their commands for the future, notwithstanding the Acts for the taking the Test and Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, &c. Lord Delamere comes to his trial on Thursday next, for which a scaffold is preparing in Westminster Hall.

For John Ellis, Esq.
Custom-House, Dublin.

LETTER CCCXXVIII.

*The same to the same. The Trial and Acquittal of
Lord Delamere.*

[IBID. p. 9. Orig.]

. Henry Booth, Lord Delamere, was accused of acting in conjunction with the Duke of Monmouth. Lord Orford says he narrowly escaped the fury of Jefferies, who was high-steward upon his trial: but

^a Henry Compton, youngest son of Spencer earl of Northampton, was translated from the See of Oxford to London, Dec. 18th, 1675.

Speaker Onslow, in a note to the last edition of Burnet's History of his Own Times says, that Jefferies behaved himself with a decency and a dignity upon this trial which he had never shown before. Lord Delamere was afterwards one of those who planned the Revolution. Yet William had little affection for him: he made him Earl of Warrington in 1690, but afterwards dismissed him to gratify the Tories.

16 Jan. 168 $\frac{5}{8}$.

ON Thursday Lord Delamer came to his Trial in Westminster Hall before his Peers, who were twenty six in all. They unanimously acquitted him. The evidences against him were very many, and the circumstances very numerous and presumptive; yet there happened to be but one positive witness (and he a very suspicious one) whose testimony was invalidated by a cloud of others for the Lord, who made a very notable defence, and being well skilled in our Laws, and withall a good spokesman, gave all the advantage to his cause, and good entertainment to his auditors.

It is said the King hath already ordered that Evidence (called Saxton^a) to be tried for perjury; and when he hath got his reward for that, he will be sent into the West to be tried for high-treason as having been in the Rebellion.

This fellow also was the chief, if not only evidence against Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Offley, upon whose testimony the bills of high misdemeanor were found against them at Chester.

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^a It should be Saxon. EDIT.

LETTER CCCXXIX.

Samuel de Paz to John Ellis, Esq. Lord Delamere has an audience of the King. False Reports of Quo Warrantos issued against Cathedral Churches. Mrs. Sedley to be Countess of Dorchester. Sir Henry Waldegrave to be Baron Waldegrave.

[IBID. p. 11. Orig.]

Whitehall, 19 Jan. 168 $\frac{5}{6}$.

* * * * *

My Lord Delamer was admitted last Saturday to kiss the King's hand, when his Majesty was pleased to give him warning as to his future behaviour. The Gazette tells you of the Orders already given for the proceeding against Saxon for perjury.

* * * * *

The King has shewn great concern at the false reports spread abroad of Quo Warrantos being out against Cathedral Churches and the like, and in order to prevent the ill consequences of such like false reports, all possible care is taking for the suppressing of all seditious Newspapers, or Letters commonly read in Coffee-Houses and sent about to poison the Country.

Mrs. Sidley is making Countess of Dorchester,^a

^a Catharine daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, Bart. was created Countess of Dor-

and Sir Henry Walgrave (married to Mrs. Churchill's daughter) a Baron of his own name.^a

Dear Sir,

Your most humble
and most obedient servant,

SAM. DE PAZ.

Mr. Ellis.

LETTER CCCXXX.

. to Mr. Ellis. *Montague House burnt.*
Mr. Harbord ordered to surrender.

[IBID. p. 12. *Orig.*]

Whitehall, the 21 Jan. 168 $\frac{5}{6}$.

ON Wednesday at one in the morning a sad fire happened at Montague House in Bloomsbury, occasioned by the Steward's airing some hangings, &c. in expectation of my Lord Mountague's return home, and sending afterwards a woman to see that the fire-pans with charcoal were removed, which she told him she

chester, Jan. 24. 1685-6. Burnet says much upon the agitation which the advancement of this Lady to the Peerage brought upon the Queen and the Romish priests.

Mrs. Sedley was as little restrained in her conversation as the Lady Castlemaine had been; and was so far from beautiful in face, that Charles the Second used to say, his brother "had her by way of penance." She afterwards espoused the Earl of Portmore, and died in 1717.

^a See the former Series of these Letters, vol. iii. p. 328.

had done though she never came there. The loss that my Lord Mountague has sustained by this accident is estimated at £40,000, besides £6000 in plate, and my Lord Devonshire's loss in pictures, hangings, and other furniture is very considerable.

The Earl of Arran is very dangerously ill.

A Privy Seal is sent to Mr. William Harbord, commanding him to appear within fourteen days before some of his Majesty's Privy Council, upon his allegiance.

LETTER CCCXXXI.

*The same to the same. Public News. Countess of
Dorchester. The Princess Anne. Pepys.*

[IBID. p. 35. *Orig.*]

London, April 6th. 1686.

YOURS per the 5th. of last month came on Saturday hither per the boat we concluded lost. The busy time of Devotion is now over here. His Majesty, God bless him ! one of the zealousest. Ten hours in a day sometimes. The Court returns from St. James's to Whitehall to-morrow, and go not to Windsor till the middle of May ; when, also, the Camp opens at Hounslow. Our sparks all go for Hungary to-morrow. D. Ha-

milton, Lieut. Gen. Drummond, &c. come to town this evening; sent for I imagine. It will end in his Grace becoming Commander of Scotland, though the common vogue is, he was sent for to be chidden for the method of his management since he became a Commissioner of the Treasury there. Our Ministers of State have all retired likewise this holy season; Lord Chancellor to his Country House near Uxbridge, Lord Treasurer to Twitnam, Lord Sunderland to Althrope; either for their private satisfaction in their consciences, or to avoid showing in town whether they have any or no.

I imagine your Countess Dorchester will speedily move hitherward, for her house is furnishing very fine in St. James's Square, and a seat taking for her in the new consecrated St. Anne's Church. The French King is not right yet, though little is said of him. Madame de Maintenon makes all the applications to him that he stands in need of.

I hear poor Pr. Anne is sadly teased about a new declaration in matters of ——— so that at last it is agreed to, after lying in. But I hope it may not be thus. Say nothing of it.

New equipage in great splendor is every where to be seen, especially their Majesties. Her Majesty is wonderfully glorious in her own apparel.

Here is arrived an Italian Prince of Piombino, the greatest spendthrift in the world reckoned, for he has consumed the greatest part of a matrimonial estate of

150,000^l. per annum, and the Treasure of Three Popes. So it seems not that we need fear his politicks.

This next Term I am like to be confined hither, and then what I shall do I know not. Lord Or— and Oss— come next week. If their favour help not, I will see you for a little to wind up a mean bottom very indifferently worth my while; and so go for Paris, and with my Lord Denbigh into Italy in the winter.

I hope you will succeed in your design of removal hither; but these Lords keeping thus out of town, puts us both out of our way. Phil has many wonderful kind expressions from the King, so that I imagine some room in the Navy (where they rowle in money) might be found. So I advise you to solicit hard and court kindly. Sure Pepys would value Lord Ossory's recommendation at no mean rate, though Eure and he together neglect all where money chinks not.^a You may be sure of me on all occasions.

^a Samuel Pepys, Esq. with whose Memoirs the world has been so recently delighted, is the person here alluded to. He was Clerk of the Acts of the Navy. Eure, as he is called, was William Hewer, Esq. a Commissioner of the Admiralty, who had been Pepys's servant.

There is another Letter in the same Volume dated London, April 10th. 1686, which speaks in stronger terms. The writer says, "I shall urge your monkish brother all I can, and imagine his personal interest in — will do. He tells me he discoursed Pepys about the matter who told him all was settled. I know the griping temper of both him and Eure, and what rates every poor boson (boatswain) pays for what he has purchased with his blood and many years hardship."

One cannot upon this occasion refrain from adverting to some passages in Pepys's Diary, even at an earlier period, which show how rapidly he obtained his wealth.

June 3^d. 1660. "At sermon in the morning; after dinner into my cabin to cast my accounts up, and find myself to be worth near 100*l*. for which I bless Almighty God, it being more than I hoped for so soon, being I believe not clearly worth 25*l*. when I come to sea besides my house and goods." vol. i. p. 56.

Dec. 1660-1. "Myself in constant good health, and in a most handsome and thriving condition. Blessed be Almighty God for it." vol. i. p. 88.

Oct. 30th. 1663. "To my great sorrow find myself 43*l*. worse than I was the last

Your new Chancellor is on the road, and I am going to sup with Will Legg, Governor of Kinsale, who follows him to-morrow.

LETTER CCCXXXII.

*The same to the same. Judges and Serjeants changed.
Disorders in London on account of Popery.*

[IBID. p. 44. *Orig.*]

London, April 27th. 86.

* * * * *

HERE are a new set of Judges and Serjeants, such as they are. For their names I refer you to the Gazettes, and for their virtues to those that know them better. Solicitor General was put out on Saturday, and Powis in his room, a very young counsellor, but a cozen and careful man in Christian causes. The At-

month, which was then 760*l.* and now it is but 717*l.* But it hath chiefly arisen from my layings out, in clothes for myself and wife." vol. i. p. 257.

Dec. 30th. 1665. "All the afternoon to my accounts, and then find myself to my great joy, a great deal worth above 4000*l.* for which the Lord be praised! and is principally occasioned by my getting 500*l.* of Cocke, for my profit in his bargains of prize goods, and from Mr. Gauden's making me a present of 500*l.* more, when I paid him 800*l.* for Tangier. 31st. Thus ends this year, to my great joy, in this manner. I have raised my estate from 1300*l.* in this year to 4400*l.*" vol. i. p. 384.

Dec. 31, 1666. "To my accounts whercof at last I find them clear and right; but to my great discontent do find that my gettings this year have been 573*l.* less than my last: it being this year in all but 2986*l.*; whereas, the last, I got 3560*l.* Blessed be God! and I pray God make me thankful for it, I do find myself worth in money, all good, above 6200*l.* Thus ends this year of public wonder and mischief to this nation." vol. i. p. 497.

torney is threatened, but yet keeps within the Bar. Many more new matters are let fly abroad to see how they will relish, that they may be given to chew.

On Sunday, the London hot-heads were bantering Mr. Sandford's Chapel, got away a cross, and set it by a pump, paying very disorderly adoration to it, with holloaing, and then going back and taking a crucifix, and saying they would have no wooden gods worshipped. These frightening the priest, but not hurting him. Then comes the Lord Mayor and commands the peace. The answer was in a scornful way. 'What! the Lord Mayor of our city come to preach up popery! too sure, it cannot be!' Then the guard militia was ordered to send the rabble away; and asking what they meant, the answer was, 'Only pulling down popery,' and their return was, 'If that be all, we cannot in conscience hinder.' But vespers not going on in the chapel, they dispersed. By next Sunday more matters may occur.

The King went hence on Monday his water voyage to visit the ships at Chatham, and returns not till Thursday; and I shall not wonder if the Scotch regiment of guards now quartering at Greenwich be quartered in Cheapside before this week is out.

More comes to my knowledge than the common talk of a letter will bear, or than ordinary reason would put there.

Twenty thousand swords lately seized in Stockton

in Yorkshire, and many people buzzing about; and from Holland the Amsterdam caballers have sent spies that have very lately escaped here.

I suspect old Macclesfield has put his blundering brains to work, and they will dash out his son's if he have any: for it is not his fault, but father's flight that keeps him in fetters.^a

The Court cares not to stir hence till the latter end of May, and the King himself encamps with his army. I will say more as to yourself on Saturday.

LETTER CCCXXXIII.

The same to the same. King James drinks the Church of England as established by Law. The Judgment in the Case of Sir Edward Hales.

[IBID. p. 48. Orig.]

June 22^d. 86.

* * * * *

THE King they say dined in the camp, and in my

^a Charles Gerrard, Lord Gerrard of Brandon. He was first made Earl of Newbury by King Charles the Second, who afterwards, in 1679, changed his earldom for that of Macclesfield. His *Flight from justice* is noticed in a Proclamation dated from Windsor, Sept. 7th. 1685. In the 2^d. James II^d. he was convicted of high-treason, and sentenced to die, but was afterwards pardoned. He subsequently fled to Holland whilst Monmouth was preparing for his expedition, and thence to Germany, whence he returned to the Hague in 1688, to take part in the preparations of the Prince of Orange. See Ormerod's Hist. of Cheshire, vol. i. Introd. p. xlii. note. Kennet's Hist. Engl. vol. iii. pp. 442, 488.

Lord Dunbarton's tent the other day ; where after his and the Queen's health had gone round, His Majesty was pleased to renew his kindness to the Church of England, by beginning a health to it as established by Law.

The judgment in the case of Sir Edward Hales is gone for His Majesty, and one of the arguments and reasons for it as I am told, is, that what the act enjoins in that case, being a service or ceremony relating to His Majesty, he may in his prerogative royal dispense with it.^a

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LETTER CCCXXXIV.

The same to the same. The Appointment of Lords Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

[IBID. p. 59. *Orig.*]

17 July, 86.

IN return for your kind letter of the 7th. I have not much to send you worthy your curiosity. What takes

^a "An Action was brought" (against Sir Edward Hales) "on the stat. 25th. Cha. II. c. 2. for the penalty of 500*l*. on account of his executing the office of a Colonel of Foot without taking the Communion, Oaths, and Test; to which the Defendant pleaded, he had a dispensation under the broad seal to act, *non obstante* the statute: to this the Plaintiff demurred, and in conclusion, judgment was given for the Defendant that his plea was good." *Life of King James the Second*, publ. by Dr. J. S. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 82. Sir Edward Hales, after the Prince of Orange's arrival, followed the fortunes of King James.

up most men here is a new Commission that His Majesty hath issued out, whereby he is pleased to constitute Seven Lords Commissioners for executing and exercising all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction: viz. the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of Durham, and Bishop of Rochester, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President, and Lord Chief Justice Herbert. They have power and authority to visit and correct all offences, to enquire of any misdemeanors against the ecclesiastical laws, and to punish the same offenders by suspension, deprivation, and excommunication, and other church censures, according as they in justice shall think meet; to examine into all irregularities and immoralities punishable by church laws, and even into *Disorders in Marriages*; and to call before them and punish any offenders, or any *that shall seem to be suspected persons*; to cite and swear witnesses; to punish the obstinate and disobedient; to tax and condemn in costs the party prosecuting or prosecuted; to have a Register (who is Mr. Bridgman), and a Common Seal with the circumscription of *Sigillum Dominorum Commissariorum S. R. Majestatis ad Causas Ecclesiasticas*. For all this *Three* are to be of the *quorum*, whereof Lord Chancellor to be one. They are farther to cause all Universities, Colleges, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, to bring up their charters and statutes when required, and the same to alter as they see cause, and to add to or diminish from

the same; and where there is room, to make such statutes as any five of them shall think meet, notwithstanding any law, statute, &c. to the contrary. This is the purport of it as far as I can remember.

We know not yet who succeeds the Bishop of Oxford. Doctors South, Hooper, Aldridge, Levett, and Dr. Parker are talked of; the last stands fair with the King and is now at Court.^a Lords of Powys, Arrundel, Bellasis, and Dover are said to be this day admitted of the Council at Hampton Court.

Mr. Ellis.

LETTER CCCXXXV.

The same to the same. Bishop Compton called before the Lords Commissioners.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4194. fol. 69. *Orig.*]

* * In "the Life of King James the Second collected out of Memoirs writ of his own hand," we read, "It was not long after the opening of the Commission, that Dr. Sharp, rector of St. Giles, was complained of for using reflecting expressions on the King and his government; upon which His Majesty ordered the Bishop of London to suspend him."

10th. Aug. 86.

YESTERDAY Lord Bishop of London appeared before the Commissioners, who told him he was to answer

^a Samuel Parker, D. D. was consecrated bishop of Oxford October 17th. 1686. He died March 20th. 1687. His History of his own time from 1660 to 1680, is sufficiently known.

to this Question, ‘ Why he disobeyed the King in not suspending Dr. Sharp when his Majesty commanded ?’ His Lordship said, he hoped it was no disobedience to say he could not do it without a judicial Act. But, the better to frame his Answer, he desired he might have, First, a Copy of their Lordships’ Commission ; Second, his Charge in writing ; and a longer time to answer to it.

First, the Lords told him, that no Courts granted Copies of their Commission, and that this had passed all the offices to the Great Seal, whence he might easily get a copy : Second, that there was no libel given in in this case, that the proceedings were as in the like cases summary and *ore tenus*, and the charge being but a plain easy question, he might give it as plain an answer upon the place. Third, that they thought any long time to be unnecessary. However, that they would allow his Lordship till next Monday.

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LETTER CCCXXXVI.

*The same to the same. The Duke of Ormond. Father
Peters. Lord Tyrconnel.*

[MS. DONAT. 4194. fol. 91. Orig.]

London, Nov. 30th. 1686.

DEAR SIR,

I FOUND yours of the 10th. here when I came last Thursday and had writ on Saturday last that I knew little what to write, especially Lord Duke of Ormond being out of Town in Hampshire to see a house which he has a mind to purchase, but I think will not, though he is very much bent upon having a decent country-house in some sporting part of the Kingdom. After a little discourse with his grace, I brought you in, and how desirous you were to be beholden to him for a transportation hither. He said he doubted the difficulty would be great; and stumbled at doing for me what he formerly promised; so that I left him but indifferently satisfied. I must work as well as I can. My Dartmouth interest too is at a very low ebb. The Jesuit Jack Peters is very great and Tyr—— works by him. This High-Priest has the lodgings in Whitehall which were the King's whilst Duke. Tyr——

makes all the visible preparations for the chief government of your kingdom, as coaches, plate, beds, &c. and Tho. Sheridan his chief secretary. This is the public vogue, but no other signs, no declaration in Council, nor any thing in the offices; and Will. Shaw is confident he wont go this twelvemonth; what reason he has for his confidence I cannot see. ^a

* * * * *

If Tyr. comes, the Royal Chap. of Christ Church is in a fine way.

Direct to Mr. Wynn's in Germain Street.

LETTER CCCXXXVII.

The same to the same. The Affliction of the Princess of Denmark.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4194. fol. 118. Orig.]

5th. Feb. 168⁶/₇.

THE beginning of February proves still fatal and unlucky to us here. Upon the second, the late King

^a The Earl of Tyrconnell went for Ireland Jan. 11th. 168⁶/₇ with his Majesty's Commission as Deputy of that Kingdom; the Commission not to be in force till after fourteen Days of his arrival there: Lord Tyrconnell carrying at the same time a letter from the King to the Lord Lieutenant, that he should be constituted in the interim the Lord Lieutenant's Deputy, that the Lord Lieutenant might come away in that quality, and have no greater person there than himself while he staid. Letter of Jan. 11th.

sickened, and upon the same, three days ago, died the Lady Ann Sophia youngest daughter of the Princess of Denmark, to the great grief of us all, and the more as that it happened upon the heels of a miscarriage,^a and that the eldest daughter Lady Mary lies desperately ill. All this put together, may, I am afraid, too sensibly affect the Princess herself.

* * * * *

We are told L. Tyrc—— is driven back to Neston.^b

LETTER CCCXXXVIII.

The same to the same. The Birth of the Prince.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4194 p. 201. Orig.]

12th. June 88.

DEAR SIR,

IN return of all your favours from thence I can send you now the joyful news of a Prince of Wales. God continue it to us. It is a brave lusty boy, and like to live. Nothing but this happy incident could have justled that of the Bishops so soon out of our thoughts. What will become of them I know not. Thanks for yours, of the 1st.

Mr. Ellis.

^a In a previous Letter of the same writer it is mentioned that the Princess had miscarried January the 21st.

^b The news of Lord Tyrconnell's arrival at Dublin came to England, Feb. 7th.

LETTER CCCXXXIX.

*The same to the same. D. of Monmouth's Chaplain
pardoned.*

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4194. fol. 208. Orig.]

June 21st. 1688.

* * * * *

ON the 19^h. was a Trial at Westminster Hall between the Earl of Lincoln and several Pawnbrokers who had received divers parcels of his goods that had been stolen. The Earl indicted them upon an Action of conspiracy with the Thieves, and upon hearing of the matter the Court was very ill satisfied with those sorts of Cattle called Pawnbrokers, alias receivers of stolen goods, and declared them to be one of the blemishes of the government.

* * * * *

Nathaniel Hook, the late Duke of Monmouth his Chaplain, who was concerned in the Rebellion, and hath ever since skulked up and down without being able to obtain his pardon, threw himself lately at His Majesty's feet, desiring His Majesty's pardon, or to be speedily tried and executed; since now life itself, as well as the sense of his guilt, was wearisome to him; whereupon His Majesty thought fit to extend his gracious pardon to him.

* * * * *

LETTER CCCXL.

The same to the same. King James at the Camp on Hounslow Heath. Pannel of the Jury at the Trial of the Seven Bishops. Various lesser News.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4194. fol. 216. Orig.]

London, June 28th. 1688.

SIR,

HIS Majesty was pleased yesterday to go to Hounslow heath, where the Camp opened, and a battalion of the Guards marched. His Majesty did the Lord Churchill the honour to dine in his tent. In his return he called at Richmond, and viewed the Palace where the Prince of Wales is to be lodged; as the Prince and Princess of Denmark are to be at Hampton Court.

To-morrow (though St. Peter's Day) being the day for the Trial of the Seven Bishops, preparations are making for it accordingly. It's a bad wind blows nobody good. The Officers of the Court will get well by the trial for places and conveniences to hear the same, which are sold excessive dear. Most of the nobility are also come up and will be present. The pannel of the Jury as it was agreed on, is as followeth

Sir Roger Langley,

Sir William Hill,

Sir John Berry,

Roger Jennings,

Thomas Harriott,	Nicholas Baxter,
Geoffry Nightingale,	Nehemiah Arnold,
William Withers,	John Green,
William Avery,	Robert Barre,
Thomas Austine,	George Ford,
Nicholas Grice,	Charles Prior,
Mich. Arnold,	Ed. Harris,
Thomas Doune,	John Walton,
Richard Shoreditch,	James Supple,
William Hewer,	Richard Cooper.

Of which the twelve first will likely stand for a Jury, in case they do appear, unless some very legal objection be made against them. Most of them are known to be Church of England men: several are employed by the King in his Navy and Revenue: and some are, or once were of the Dissenter's party.

On the 26th. Mr. Attorney General prayed judgment against several Charters and Corporations in England and Wales that are forfeited for not pleading to the Quo Waranto brought against them.

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We expect Verses gratulatory upon the birth of the Prince from both the Universities; and also from the Society of Magdalen College in Oxford, in a particular book by themselves.

We are told from Oxford that the Convocation voted against an act, only Obadiah Walker and some of his friends were for it. Cambridge seems also inclined

to have no commencement, but it is not yet determined.

The Count de Grammont is dispatched by the most Christian King to compliment the Court of England upon the birth of the Prince.

LETTER CCCXLI.

The same to the same. Trial of the Bishops, who are brought in NOT GUILTY.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4194. p. 219. *Orig.*]

London, June the 30th. 1688.

SIR,

YESTERDAY the Seven Bishops came to their trial, which held from morning till seven at night. We gave you an account of the Jury in our last. The first twelve stood; only Sir John Berry was not there. They did not bring in their verdict last night, and it is said they had not agreed upon it this day at four in the morning.

The Counsel in handling the matter for the Bishops divided the substance of the information into two parts, whereof the same consisted. The first was that they had maliciously, seditiously, and slanderously made, contrived, and published a false and seditious libel against the King, which tended to diminish his royal

authority and prerogative ; the second part of the plea for the Bishops was to the special matter of their Petition, which shewed there was no malice or sedition in it.

As to the first point, much time was spent in proving the hands of the Bishops. That of the Archbishop was proved and well known by several ; but that of the other Bishops was not otherwise made out than by the belief and supposition of the witnesses ; though their own servants were subpœna'd against their masters : so that the Court were of opinion there was not sufficient proof of their hand-writing.

As to the Archbishop, it was objected that he could [not] be within the indictment, for that it was laid in Middlesex, and his Grace had not been out of Surrey in seven or eight months. To this it was answered that his signing and writing of the Petition, and sending of it over to be delivered in Middlesex was a sufficient publishing of it there ; but the Court was divided in this point.

Then the King's Counsel alledged that the Bishops had owned their hand-writing in the Council, and had also confessed the delivery of the petition. It was replied on the bishops' side, that they had owned their hands, but after that the Lord Chancellor had required them to do it, and that they had done it trusting to their Majesties' goodness that no advantage would be made of their confession against themselves. But they

denied they had owned the delivery of the petition, much less that they had published it: and there being no other evidence of it than that they had been with the Lord Sunderland, and had offered his Lordship a sight of a petition which he had refused, nor did he see them deliver it to the King, the Court said it was only a presumption and no proof.

As to the matter of the petition, whether a libel upon the government or no, the Attorney and Solicitor General maintained it was, for that it boldly meddled with the acts of the government, declaring His Majesty's toleration to be illegal, and thereby tending to diminish the King's authority and prerogative royal.

To this the Bishops' Counsel replied, that they had done but what was the right of every subject, to petition the King; and that, in matter of conscience and upon the account of religion, they were by their oaths and by laws of the land to take care of; and quoted several laws and statutes to the purpose. They urged also that they did not declare the King's declaration of indulgence to be illegal, but said only that the parliaments of 62, 72, and 85, had declared so; whereupon the Journals of the Lords and Commons were read.

The Court was also divided in this point. The Chief Justice and J. Allebone said that it was a libel; but J. Powell and Holloway were of a contrary opinion.

The Attorney and Solicitor were only for the King,

and kept their ground against Pemberton, Sawyer, Finch, Pollexfen, Treby, and Sommers, who were for the bishops.

This morning between ten and eleven the Jury brought in their verdict, the bishops attending in court, NOT GUILTY in part or whole: which causes great joy.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary to
the Commissioners for the Revenue
of Ireland, Dublin.

LETTER CCCXLII.

*The same to the same. Disorders of the Populace
upon the Acquittal of the Bishops.*

[MS. DONAT. 4194. p. 221. Orig.]

London, July the 3d, 1688.

SIR,

THE jury having brought in their verdict of not guilty upon the bishops on Saturday morning, the unruly Mob broke out into wild huzzas and acclamations. Some of the gown were also observed to be as loud as any; for which the Attorney General caused one of Gray's Inn to be seized, and bound him to an-

swer to an information ; the Solicitor General was like to catch another, but that he narrowly escaped in the crowd.

The giddy rabble continued their disorderly joys till Sunday morning, making bonfires all Saturday night and committing some insolencies where they found no contributions. Several were wounded, others were robbed ; and many will be called to an account this week, that the Quarter Sessions do begin.

Yesterday the Lord Mayor appeared before the King and his Council to give account of those few bonfires which were made in the city by some of too fiery and indiscreet zeal.

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LETTER CCCXLIII.

Changes in the Privy Council, &c. The King dines at the Camp twice a week. The Prince declared Prince of Wales. Changes in Westminster Hall.

[MS. DONAT. 4194. p. 228. Orig.]

London, July 7th. 1688.

SIR,

LAST night his Majesty was pleased to admit of his most honourable Privy Council these persons following:

viz. Sir John Trevor, Knight, Master of the Rolls, Mr. Sylas Titus (commonly called Colonel Titus), and Christopher Vane, Esq. son of the late Sir Henry Vane, a person of good estate in the county of Durham.

His Majesty is so much pleased with the care and ability of Sir William Williams, his Solicitor General, particularly in his late behaviour about the trial of the bishops, that he has been pleased to confer the honour of a baronet upon him.

His Majesty dines at the Camp most commonly twice a week, as he did last Wednesday with Major General Worden, where there were eight regiments of horse, besides six or seven thousand foot drawn up.

Their Majesties and the Prince continue in very good health. The King hath declared the Prince, Prince of Wales, though he is not yet created, and hath ordered him to be prayed for in all churches under that title. About fifteen days hence the Court will be removing to Windsor, and the Prince to Richmond.

About the 10th. of this month the Queen's Majesty intends to come abroad, her Month being then out; and to welcome Her Majesty there are eight or nine vast Engines made upon the Thames of different forms and figures which are to play several sorts of Fire-works within a few nights after.

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Since the trial of the bishops, Sir Richard Holloway

and Sir John Powell, two of the judges of the King's Bench Court, have had their quietus sent them.

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It is commonly discoursed that there are some other changes to be in Westminster Hall; and if so, it is generally believed that his Majesty will have a gracious regard to the merits and great capacity of Sir William Williams his Solicitor General.

LETTER CCCXLIV.

The same to the same. Joy at Rome upon the birth of the Prince of Wales.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4194. p. 239. *Orig.*]

London, July 17th. 1688.

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THIS Evening the Fireworks upon the Thames will be played. The devices of them are very ingenious, and too long to be here inserted. There are several thousands of Balloons that are to be shot into the air, and then to fall into the River and represent several figures. There are twelve Mortar-pieces that are to cast granado shells into the air, which when

they break will discover odd mixtures and shapes; the figure of Bacchus representing Plenty, out of whose great tun and belly are to be discharged about eight or nine barrels of combustibles. There are also two large feminine figures, which represent Fecundity and Loyalty, the emblems of the first are a Hare and a Hen and Chickens, each of which are in their proper time to act their part in the magnificent Show of this Evening.

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Our Italian letters continue to speak of the dismal confusion occasioned by the late earthquakes. That they had now again taken out four hundred persons alive from under the ruins of the Houses, and among others a Lady with child, who through a kind of miracle had there continued buried, though alive, for eleven days together, even without drinking or eating. And that a pillar of Fire had been seen to fly in the air over the City of Coritto.

At the same time they tell us of the extraordinary joy at Rome upon the birth of the Prince of Wales, and that it was expected his Holiness would suddenly nominate M. Barberino, or some other prelate, to carry his Royal Highness the blessed clouts.

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LETTER CCCXLV.

The same to the same. The Departure of the Court.

The Prince taught by the Marchioness of Powis his Governess to present a Petition to the King for increasing the Number of Hackney Coaches, the revenue arising from which was to be applied to the maintenance of Foundling Children. Circuits of the Judges. Excesses of the Mob at Amsterdam upon the celebration at the English Consul's on the birth of the Prince of Wales.

[IBID. p. 240. Orig.]

London, July 19th. 1688.

SIR,

ORDERS are given for carriages and other necessities, for the removal of the Court, to be ready next Monday, and on Tuesday their Majesties depart for Windsor, the Prince to Richmond, and the Princess of Denmark to Tunbridge.

It is yet uncertain whether the King designs a Progress this summer; if so, it will likely be towards York. But the Scots would have it somewhat farther.

The Lady Marquis of Powis, governante to the Prince, hath taught his Royal Highness a way to ask already, for, few days ago, his Royal Highness was

brought to the King with a petition in his hand, desiring that two hundred Hackney Coaches may be added to the four hundred now licensed, but that the revenue for the said two hundred might be applied towards the feeding and breeding of Foundling Children.

The Judges were introduced to the King last Sunday by the Lord Chancellor, and had their charge and instructions given them before they go their circuits: it is said they are to repeat the same assurances to the Counties, that his Majesty is resolved to convene a Parliament in November, and to direct that such members be chosen as will comply with his Majesty's intentions, which are for the ease and quiet of his subjects.

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What is said of the Prince of Orange having sent five Dutch Men of War, and their having made a descent upon St. Christophers, and driven the French thence and seized the Place by way of reprisals for what the French did at Orange, is very uncertain, and is an invention of them that love to feed the town with the Air of Novels.

The mobile at Amsterdam did, at the English Consul's celebrating the birth of the Prince of Wales, commit such rudenesses as require severe resentment.

LETTER CCCXLVI.

The same to the same. A Household established for the Prince of Wales. The acquitted Bishops hold Catechizings and Confirmations in their respective Bishopricks. Their example followed by the Roman Clergy.

[IBID. p. 242. Orig.]

London, July 21st. 1688.

SIR,

AN Establishment of the Prince of Wales his household is made, wherein Sir Stephen Fox is said to have had a hand, and in most places to have put those that are or were his own servants and relations.

On Tuesday last was solemnized the marriage of my Lord Chancellor's son with the daughter of the late Earl of Pembroke, in favour of whom against the present Earl a decree past in Chancery this last term; her mother (who is the Duchess of Portsmouth's sister) was present at the marriage, and though she be a Roman Catholic, yet consented the marriage should be performed by a Protestant minister. This match affords matter of discourse.

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The bishops that were lately in the Tower are gone to their respective bishopricks, and have resolved to

hold frequent catechizings and confirmations ; and last week the Archbishop began at Lambeth, and at Croydon in Surrey, where the Bishop of Gloucester assisted him in confirming some thousands of children that were brought to them.

This good example is followed also by the Roman Clergy about the town, and last week Bishop Ellis, assisted by Father Poulton the Jesuit, confirmed some hundreds of youth (some of them were new converts) at the new Chapel in the Savoy.

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The Bishop of Durham is still indisposed, and has suspended several of his Clergy, particularly Doctor Morton his chaplain, for not reading the Declaration ; the Bishop of Chester is said to intend the same thing in his Diocese, and especially at Chester, where the Dean is affirmed to have once promised the reading, and then to have been sick a bed when the day came, so that it was not read in the Cathedral.

His Majesty returned yesterday at noon from the Buoy in the Nore, where he spent a whole day in viewing his squadron of ships, and is said to have given orders for the equipping of ten more.

The Archbishop and the Clergy of London are said to have had several conferences with the chief of the Dissenting ministers, in order to agree such points of Ceremonies as are indifferent between them, and to take their measures for what is to be proposed about religion at next Parliament.

LETTER CCCXLVII.

*The same to the same. Falsity of a Report concerning
Father Peters.*

[IBID. p. 247. *Orig.*]

* * The person called Father Peters in this Letter, was Edward Petre the King's Confessor, who was at the head of the Jesuits, and whom James was absurd enough to make a member of his Privy Council. He greatly accelerated the downfall of the King.

London, July 26th. 1688.

SIR,

ON Tuesday their Majesties went for Windsor, and Tomorrow the Prince of Wales is to remove for Richmond. His Royal Highness goes abroad in the Park every day to take the air.

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What is said by some newsmongers about the Town, of four soldiers having shot at Father Peters in the Camp, is false; no such indignity having been offered to any of the fathers; only one of the King's priests happened to be riding six or eight miles from the Camp, as two soldiers were a drinking the King's health, and out of gaiety discharged their musquets; and this was found to be the fact upon examination at a Council of War.

LETTER CCCXLVIII.

The same to the same. The Prince of Wales indisposed. The Judges and their Charges.

[IBID. fol. 263. Orig.]

London, Aug. 7th. 1688.

THEIR Majesties have passed three or four days at Richmond with the Prince of Wales, his Royal Highness having continued indisposed by the gripes and looseness. Several consults of Doctors and Midwives and Nurses have been had; and at last it was resolved his Highness should have the breast, and a fresh country woman hard by was had on Saturday, and he hath since sucked and been much better.

The Queen is resolved to continue with the Prince at Richmond till he be well and in a condition to be removed to Windsor.

Councils and Committees were put off at Windsor by reason that the King was with the Prince at Richmond.

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Great exceptions are taken by the several Counties against the Judges, who arraign the Bishops in their Charges at the Circuit Sessions after they have been

fairly acquitted by a Tryal and a Verdict in the King's Bench.

Some of the Judges are said to have behaved themselves lukewarmly in the matter, and to have foreseen, at least forethought, what disservice to the Crown a general discontent may prove to be, so that we may expect some farther change in Westminster Hall the next Term.

LETTER CCCXLIX.

The same to the same. A Wet-Nurse provided for the Prince of Wales. Death of Henry Carre. Various News.

[IBID. fol. 267. Orig.]

London, Aug. 9th. 1688.

SIR,

AT Richmond the Prince of Wales continues to suck the Nurse allowed him, and it hath that good effect which is natural and usual to children, and their Majesties returned thence this day to Windsor. The Nurse is the wife of a Tyle-maker, and seems a healthy woman. She came in her cloth petticoat and waistcoat, and old shoes and no stockings; but she is now rigged by degrees (that the surprise may not alter her in her

duty and care). A £100 per annum is already settled upon her, and two or three hundred guineas already given, which she saith that she knows not what to do with.

Yesterday morning about three or four o'clock died that pains-taker Henry Carre author of the late 'Pacquet of Advice from Rome' and of the 'Weekly Occurrences;' some of our chief Newsmongers are posted to Windsor to put in for his places.

The Judges at Oxford made strict inquiry after those scholars who had rescued the townsmen from the constable for abusing of Obadiah Walker, and the High Sheriff of the County recommended it to their Lordships' cares in an elegant but short speech he made in the Court, to this effect: "Pray my Lord let's have Justice, or good night Nicholas."

The Marchioness of Powys hath had a Privy Seal for £10,000 to be paid her without account to be laid out for the use of the Prince of Wales.

We hear his Royal Highness is to be proclaimed and registered upon the Council Book of Ludlow, though he be not like to be created yet for some years.

The Lord Chancellor went on Monday morning towards Canterbury to visit his brother, who is one of the Prebends there; his Lordship passes thence to Dover to wait on the Countess of Pembroke who embarks for France.

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LETTER CCCL.

The same to the same. The Prince of Wales recovered.

His Wet-Nurse has a Governess to look after her.

[IBID. p. 269. Orig.]

London, Aug. 14, 1688.

SIR,

ON Saturday last his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was removed from Richmond to Windsor, where he is lodged in the Princess of Denmark's House (which was M^{RS}. Ellen Gwyns) and is well recovered of his late indisposition, to the joy of the whole Court and Kingdom.

His Highness's Nurse is also in health and good plight, being kept to her old diet and exercise. She hath also a Governess allowed her (an ancient gentlewoman) who is with her night and day, at home and abroad.

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The Prince of Orange is now forming a Camp near Maestricht, and 'tis said the Elector of Brandenburg and other neighbour Princes are to have bodies of men within call, to join if there shall be occasion.^a

^a The secret Confederacy between the Prince of Orange and the Elector of Brandenburg at this time, was celebrated by the latter on a Medal. The Obverse represented the Elector's bust to the right, hair long, in armour with a mantle: the Legend, FRIDER. III. D. G. M. BRAND. S. R. I. A. C. ET. ELECT. 'R. FALTZ.' The Reverse bore a whole length figure of Juno her finger to her mouth, a sceptre in her left hand, and an Eagle at her feet. A Fleet in the distance. Legend, EXPED. BRITAN. CONSIL. ET. ARMIS. ADIVTA. Exergue, 1688. R. F.

LETTER CCCLI.

The same to the same. The Queen Dowager.

[IBID. p. 296. *Orig.*]

Lond. Sept. 8th. 1688.

THE Queen Dowager thinks of going to live retiredly, and to receive no visits but from the Royal Family.

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LETTER CCCLII.

The same to the same. Writs to be issued for the Parliament.

[MS. DONAT. 4194. p. 298. *Orig.*]

Lond. Sept. 15th. 1688.

THE Lord Chancellor hath been in town since Wednesday. The Parliament Writs are all ready, and will be sealed and delivered out next Tuesday.

The Elector again repeated this Medal when King of Prussia. Obv. his bust to the right, laureate, shoulders bare. Leg. FRIDERICVS . D . G . REX . BORVSSIAE . ' F . MARL . ' The Reverse was from the same die as the preceding Medal.

Frederick did not assume the royal title till the month of January, 1701. His Kingdom was acknowledged in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht. He lent William about six thousand troops.

The King of Denmark also issued a Medal at this time. On the Obverse a large Fleet. On the Reverse this Inscription within a wreath, A CHRISTIANO . V . MISSVM . WILHELMO III . AVXILIVM . VII . M . MILITVM. Exergue, MDCLXXXIX. These troops were actually furnished; they were landed in England and Scotland, and were employed in Ireland.

LETTER CCCLIII.

*The same to the same. Court News. Mr. Skelton
the late Envoy at Paris committed to the Tower.*

[IBID. p. 304. Orig.]

London, Sept. 20th. 1688.

ON Monday night the Princess of Denmark came to Whitehall from Tunbridge, and on Tuesday came the King from Windsor, and this day her Majesty the Queen and Prince of Wales are expected.

Yesterday his Majesty went down the river to Chatham to view the ships that are there fitting out, which we are told are five and three fire ships, to be added to the fleet.

We hear no more of the Dutch Fleet or of its design. Our last Letters of the 14th. left it upon the Coast of Holland cruising before the Maes. The report of its appearing upon our Coast was a mistake raised by our timorous oyster or herring women who are concerned for their trade.

On Tuesday night there was a Council held at Whitehall where the case of Mr. Skelton, his Majesty's Envoyé at Paris, was taken into consideration. He had landed at Deal but the day before, and after Council on Tuesday he was sent prisoner to the Tower.

What his crime is we yet know not, but are told it is some false step he made to the Court of France, by meddling with what he had no instructions for, and by exceeding his commission. The further particulars whereof you may have hereafter.^a

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The Parliament Writs were delivered yesterday.

LETTER CCCLIV.

*The same to the same. Mr. Skelton. The Mayor of
Scarborough tossed in a Blanket.*

[IBID. p. 310. *Orig.*]

London, Sept. 22, 1688.

MR. SKELTON is still in the Tower, and is in more danger than was at first apprehended.

We hear no further of the Dutch fleet.

Capt. Ouseley is said to be come to town to give his reasons for tossing the Mayor of Scarborough in a blanket. As a part of his Plea he has brought with him a collection of Articles against the said Mayor, and the attestations of many Gentlemen of note.

^a Compare Burnet's *Hist. of his Own Times*, edit. Oxf. 1823. vol. iii. pp. 12 and 763. He was afterwards Constable of the Tower.

LETTER CCCLV.

The same to the same. The Mayor and Aldermen of London address the King and Queen. The King's Address to them respecting the Dutch Fleet.

[IBID. p. 312. Orig.]

London, Sept. 25th. 1688.

YESTERDAY the Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited on the King and Queen to pay their duty upon their Majesties' return from Windsor. His Majesty, in his gracious return to the compliment, took notice of the report, as if the Dutch intended to attempt upon England, and bid them not be concerned. That he would stand for them, as his Majesty hoped they would stand for him ; and as he had often ventured his person heretofore in defence of the Monarchy, so would he go as far as any body to do it still against any body that should offer to disturb our quiet ; or to that effect ; which renders all men in the City both hearty and unanimous.

LETTER CCCLVI.

The same to the same. The Prince of Orange reported to be upon the point of embarking.

[IBID. p. 313. Orig.]

27th. Sept. 88.

WE are told by Express this morning that the Prince of Orange is to embark on board his mighty Fleet, for England to-morrow, or on Monday next at farthest. This puts us into great hurry and confusion; all preparing for a brush: and it is to be feared His Majesty (whom God preserve!) will venture his own royal person. Many of our Nobility are said to be already with the Prince.

To John Ellis, Esq. Secretary for
the Revenue of Ireland, Dublin.

LETTER CCCLVII.

The same to the same. The King's Proclamation concerning the intended Invasion of the Dutch. The Dukes of Ormond and Berwick have the Garter. Hearing before the Council concerning the tossing of the Mayor of Scarborough in a blanket.

[IBID. p. 317. Orig.]

London, Sept. 29th. 1688.

HIS Majesty last night in Council was pleased to

order a Proclamation to be published touching the intended Invasion of the Dutch, whereby he animates all his loving subjects to behave themselves like true Englishmen, and that they be neither daunted with Dutch prowess (for the sake of the reputation of English courage), nor suffer themselves to be carried away with those specious pretexts and insinuations which they intend to publish in their Declaration, whensoever it be scattered abroad. What ought to incite our courage against them the more is, that they are said to have a thousand Saxon horse on board; as if Old England were to be conquered a second time by that Nation.

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The Writs of Parliament are to be recalled, and the Elections to be put off by reason of this unforeseen incident of an Invasion.

The Bishop of London could not be found, being gone 'tis thought to his Sisters in Yorkshire, but his suspension is taken off. The Archbishop was also indisposed, and could not wait on the King; but about ten other of the Bishops have attended his Majesty yesterday, and having been a long time in his Closet, were dismissed very well satisfied, and one of the chief of them telling his friends that *Omnia bene*.

The Dukes of Ormond and Berwick have the Garters, and were invested therewith yesterday at a Chapter held on purpose at Whitehall.

The Mayor of Scarborough, and Captain Wosely

who tossed the other in a blanket, were heard last night before the Council. The Captain pleaded his Majesty's gracious general pardon (which is in the press) and so both were dismissed.

LETTER CCCLVIII.

The same to the same. The Charter of the City of London restored.

[MS. DONAT. 4194. p. 330. *Orig.*]

Whitehall, 2^d. Oct. 1688.

SIR,

THIS evening His Majesty called before him in Council the present Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, as also those that were Aldermen at the time that judgment was entered against the City's Charter; and as a mark of his confidence in the loyalty and affection of the City (especially at this time that the nation is threatened by a foreign Invasion) was graciously pleased to restore to the City its Charter in the same terms they had it before, to the inexpressible surprise as well as joy of them all. His Majesty told them likewise that he thought the Dutch Fleet was by this time under sail.

To John Ellis, Esq. Secretary for
the Revenue at Dublin, Ireland.

LETTER CCCLIX.

The same to the same. Coffee Houses and other Houses which dealt in News suppressed.

[IBID. p. 332. Orig.]

London, Oct. 9th. 1688.

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YESTERDAY the Lord Chancellor by the King's command directed the Justices of Peace of Middlesex to suppress all Coffee Houses and other Public Houses that deal in News Letters, or expose to the public any foreign or domestic Newspapers besides the printed Gazette.

LETTER CCCLX.

The same to the same. Description of the Dutch Fleet. Measures taken for defence.

[IBID. fol. 334.]

London, Oct. 2^d. 1688.

SIR,

THE Advices from Holland continue to give us the same account of the Dutch Fleet, that it lies (as the

Gazette has it) off of Goree, and is three or four hundred sail strong in capital men of war and bylanders for the transportation of troops. Their Army is said to be about eighteen or twenty thousand strong, made up of High and Low Dutch, of refuged Frenchmen, English fugitives and rebels, and such like medley. Earl Maxfield (they say) is to command all the horse, and Colonel Sidney the foot, and our late Admiral Herbert the fleet; and if fame be true he is to carry the Standard of England. According to the Dutch computation, this Army will have conquered England, Scotland, and Ireland, in six weeks time; and so far are they from making any secret of it, that they make it their public brag, and it is the common talk and vapouring of their carmen and fishermen about their streets. But we hope they reckon without their host, and that England and its old renown, is not yet sunk so low as to be made a prey to such mongrel invaders.

We hear that many Noblemen and others have prayed and had his Majesty's Commission to raise men in their Countries for the public defence.

His Majesty is said to have resolved to march in his own royal person (whom God preserve) as soon as they are landed, and all the Court and his Ministers are preparing to attend him.

The Lord Bishop of Winchester is also ready to attend his Majesty, as he did against the rebels in the West.

Several of the Monmouthians that were pardoned after the Western rebellion, are said to be missing now, whence we may reasonably conclude (from the immutability of some men's tempers) they are slipped over for a new command upon this occasion.

The City is unanimously resolved for the common defence, and the London apprentices seem eager for an opportunity to try their loyalty and briskness against those new pretended invaders.

The Lord Dartmouth is gone down the river to hasten the Fleet together, but will be back once again before they sail.

The Mayor of Cambridge (though once a Quaker) has taken the oaths from the Vice-chancellor; but the Mayor of Oxford seems unwilling to do it.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary to
the Commissioners for the Revenue
of Ireland, at Dublin.

LETTER CCCLXI.

*The same to the same. The Society of Magdalen
College Oxford restored. Imprisonment of Hu-
bert Bourke. Various news.*

[IBID. fol. 342.]

London, October 13, 1688.

SIR,

It is very certain that the Bishop of Winchester

has received orders from his Majesty to repair to Oxford to establish Magdalen College there according to its ancient laws and statutes, and to restore Dr. Hough the president with the rest of the former Society, and to expel the members that are now settled in that college.

One Hubert Bourke, one of the evidence and narrative-men in the late Popish Plot, being lately come from Holland, where he pretended to have quitted a considerable employment to come to serve his Majesty, having by his behaviour and language given occasion to suspect the honesty of his intentions, was seized and clapped up in the Gate House.

Mr. Goodwyne Wharton was taken into custody by one of the messengers, and examined touching a complaint sent against him from one of his Majesty's Garisons (as if he did somewhat he ought not about his Majesty's fortifications), but is again released upon bail before one of the judges.

We mentioned in our last the choosing Sir John Chapman Lord Mayor, and Sir Humphry Edwynne and Mr. Fleet Sheriffs for this next year, and Sir Peter Rich to be Chamberlain. But we do not hear yet who is to be Recorder, Sir George Treby being said to have refused it; Mr. Common Serjeant acted at the Old Bailey this Session for want of a Recorder.

The Bishops are said to have received command from his Majesty to deliver him in writing what they

at several times spoke, which some think may be printed. The Archbishop of Canterbury has also prepared a Form of Prayer to be used upon occasion of the danger that threatens the Kingdom at present, which is in the press.

The Wind has continued westerly for these ten days past, which we believe obstructs the coming of any letters from Holland, and keeps back the Dutch fleet, nor do we yet know what certainty there is in that report, as if the Dutch had declared war against France.

Some of the Squadron of ships that cruized in the Mediterranean are returned, and joined to his Majesty's fleet now in the mouth of the river.

There are not above a thousand men yet landed in Chester out of Ireland, notwithstanding the great noise of our jealous spirits about the City of London, as if there were a thousand for each hundred. We have no foreign Mail come in as yet, three being wanting from Holland, three from France, and four from Flanders.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary to
the Commissioners of the Revenue
in Ireland.

LETTER CCCLXII.

The same to the same. The General News of the day.

[IBID. fol. 156.]

London, Oct. 27, 1688.

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THE Wind did again come about yesterday to the south-east, which was fair to the Dutch, so that it is probable they took hold of that opportunity to come away, especially the nights being so clear and light, but to day it is south-west again.

Some tell us of the Prince of Orange's being sick, and that the bloody flux reigns in their fleet, some foot and horse having been embarked these three weeks or a month, and most of them people that having never seen the sea before, they are supposed to be in a sweet condition.

The first tempest disabled several of their best Ships three weeks ago, but the storm of last Saturday night was yet more violent, so that we expect with impatience to know how the Dutch Fleet escaped it, thirty of their men of war having been seen abroad that day under sail some few hours before the storm began, which in all likelihood forced them back again.

The Count of Nassau, general of the horse, and the

Count of Solms, are said to be on board the Holland's fleet, and they tell us that during the Prince of Orange's absence, the Count of Flodrop, the Prince Waldeck, and Lieutenant General Alva will have the command on the frontiers of Guelderland; Lieutenant General Delvich upon those of Overysse; the Count of Horn and Lieutenant General Webnom in Flanders, and Major General Obdam at Bois-le-duc.

The King's Fleet under my Lord Dartmouth were seen off of Essex, sailing towards the gun fleet; there were thirty-three men of war in number, and sixteen fireships. Some of the biggest ships are yet in the river, and will follow very speedily.

The City of London chose one Mr. Rhunners to be their Recorder, but he declined it, and since they have elected Mr. Selby.

Mr. Serjeant Stringer (whose son married the Lord Chancellor's daughter) is made puisné judge of the King's Bench, in the room of Judge Allybone lately deceased.

Great noise has been made about a large sum of money and arms found in a Milliner's house in the Pall Mall; but we are very well informed it is only a mistake, and that though there were several trunks searched, yet there was nothing in them but books, which they say belong to Colonel Sidney, who went into Holland some while since.

The Depositions about the birth of the Prince of

Wales are to be enrolled in Chancery,^a and several lords and ladies attended this day to that purpose.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary to the Commissioners for the Revenue of Ireland, at Dublin.

LETTER CCCLXIII.

The same to the same. The Prince of Orange driven back.

[IBID. fol. 158.]

27th. Oct. 88.

WE have neither Letters nor Gazettes from Holland, and the Marquis is forced to keep house and to live in ignorance, and to keep us so too. The Prince of Orange was in last Saturday's storm; he embarked the 19th, and last Sunday he was driven back in a shattered condition upon the Dutch coast. We know not the particulars of his loss; three or four hundred horse are said to be thrown overboard, and all the rest in disorder; others say seventy or eighty, and some small craft lost and sunk, and two men of war disabled. My Lord Preston is made Secretary of State, and my Lord of Middleton removes to my Lord of Sunder-

^a These Depositions were afterwards printed in a separate form, in folio and octavo, by command, for general circulation.

land's Office; perhaps I may stick with one of them still, but wherever I am I shall always be most faithfully

Yours.

I had four packets from you on Thursday.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary for
the Revenue of Ireland, at Dublin.

LETTER CCCLXIV.

The same to the same. The Council ordered to wait upon the Prince and Princess of Denmark with the depositions concerning the Birth of the Prince of Wales. The Prince of Orange's Declaration dispersed about the Town. Reports of the Dutch Fleet.

[IBID. fol. 336.]

London, November the 3^d. 1688.

HIS Majesty hath ordered in Council that the whole Privy Council should wait on their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Denmark, with a Copy of the Depositions which were taken and sworn unto in Council touching the Birth of the Prince of Wales.

His Majesty having notice that a printed Paper

called the Prince of Orange's Declaration is dispersed about the town, and the disperser himself (who is now in Newgate) was seized with several about him. It is ordered that a Proclamation be published forthwith forbidding all persons upon pain of High Treason to read, write, disperse, or conceal any of the said Declarations, but give notice thereof to the next Justice of Peace.

Yesterday the Archbishop and all the Bishops about town, were summoned to attend the King; what past is not certainly known. But most people do conclude, it was the King's pleasure to communicate to them that part of the Prince of Orange's Declaration which concerned them and the Clergy, it being (as we hear) pretended in the said declaration that the Clergy, among others, had invited the Prince of Orange to come over. What the said bishops will do, Time must tell us.

The Wind hath been very strong and fair for the Dutch these five days, and yet there are vessels come into this river, which saw their fleet on the other side on Tuesday and Wednesday last, and letters from the best hands in Holland by way of Flanders, dated from the Hague on Tuesday last, do affirm they will not be ready to sail these eight days: on the other hand a master of a ship of great credit on the Exchange, that set sail on Wednesday night from the Maese, affirms that the Dutch set sail that evening before him, and this his assertion is confirmed by letters from Nieuport, dated on Thursday last.

In meanwhile, several people come from the Country report to have heard the noise of guns going off, whence some fancy that the Fleets may have been engaged, but having no account from any good hands, there is no credit to be given it, and it is more probable that it was some more ships sailing out of the river to go and join the fleet which rides about the Galloper.

THE same Volume, fol. 344. contains

1. *The Prince of Orange his Speech to the States.*

Hague, Oct. 13th. Old Stile.

My Lords,

I am going to the navy to embark. I hope you do not take it ill that I do not make it known to you all where I am going. I will assure your Lordships, that what I am designing is for the good of the Protestant Religion in general, and of your State in particular, as is not unknown to some among you. I will either succeed in it, or spend my blood to the last drop.

My Lords, your trust in me, and kindness to me at this time, is unbounded ; if I live, and make it not the business of my life to make your Lordships suitable returns for it, may God blast all my designs, and let me pass for the most ungrateful wretch that ever lived.

2. *Hcer Fagell's Answer by Order.*

Sir,

My Lords the States are not at all displeased that you conceal from them your design ; they do repose an entire confidence in your Highness' conduct, zeal to the Protestant religion, and affection to their State ; otherwise they would never have given you the absolute disposal of their navy, their armies, and their money. My Lord, the States wish you all the success in your designs, and have ordered a Public Fast, and Prayers to God, for your success through all their dominions ; and beg it of your Highness not to venture your life and person unnecessarily, for though their navy and their army be the very sinews of their State, your person is more considerable to them than both.

LETTER CCCLXV.

*The same to the same. The Dutch arrive upon the
Coast of Devonshire.*

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4194. fol. 161. *Orig.*]

6th. Nov. 88.

SIR,

JUST now at, Seven, we hear the Dutch fleet (five hundred sail) was put into Torbay, Exmouth, and Dartmouth; all conclude they design to Bristol, but will take Exeter and other places in the way. We here are in good health though in some hurry, and hope for good success; our enemies having fed these two months upon a biscuit, two herrings, and a pint of Dortz-engelze a day. We hope to find their noble courage much cast down. When any thing occurs and I have a minute's time, I shall give you part of it; a Counter-Declaration is sent to the press.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary for
the Revenue of Ireland, at Dublin.

LETTER CCCLXVI.

The same to the same. The Prince of Orange at Exeter.

[IBID. fol. 368 b.]

10th. Nov. 88.

SIR,

YOURS of the 24th. past are but just come in; the Prince of Orange is at Exeter since yesterday twenty thousand strong, he hath bespoke ten^a thousand pairs of shoes. The Country is not fond of him nor forward to run in to him; they keep good order, but cannot prevail with Coll. Strangways or any of his neighbours to come at them, but they send their inviting Letters unopened up to the King. They want Oxen and Horses for draft. Our artillery went out this day. The King follows next Thursday: so that you will imagine we are here in hurry and some confusion. We seized a Bag of Letters and a Boat of theirs going for Holland.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary
for the Revenue of Ireland, at
Dublin.

^a In the next Letter it is said SIX thousand.

LETTER CCCLXVII.

The same to the same. The Prince of Orange still at Exeter. The general state of Affairs.

[IBID. fol. 369.]

London, Nov. 13, 1688.

SIR,

It is said the Prince of Orange is now settled at Exeter as his head quarters, but that most of his companions are lodged in the neighbouring towns ten or fifteen miles off. The six thousand pair of shoes which he bespoke at Exeter are not yet ready, and so we know not what way they intend to take. Others think that the bespeaking these shoes was but a trick to drill on time, till they could see if any part of England would come in to them ; but we are assured their allies come on but slowly, all the West being quiet, and almost unconcerned at their being there, while they pay for what they have. Some of the scurf and meaner part run in to them as they would to see a show, but generally retreat the next day ; most of our Western people having ever since Monmouth's time been much troubled with dreams of gibbets, &c.

The Dean and Chapter as well as the Bishop ran

away at their coming into Exeter, and so would most of the inhabitants, but that it happens to be a great fair time there.

They stop and rifle all Mails and Letters that pass that way, and the doing of it now in fair time does (in some people's opinion) seem as if they looked for money and bills of exchange, and not letters of news. Some tell us they begin to plunder and imprison, notwithstanding they have promised the contrary, having taken violently £300 from the Collector of Excise, and thrown him into prison.

Though there has been a great noise as if some men of quality, Mr. Wharton and others, were gone in to the invaders, yet it proves false, for Mr. Wharton was seen since at Court and other places where he frequents.

Some few of the Maltsters and Butchers of Buckinghamshire (most commonly those that owe more than they can pay) are missing, and supposed to be run away in hopes to plunder, not to pay their creditors.

Great endeavours are used to prevail with the lads of London to be troublesome under the pretence of pulling down the Popish Chapels in Lime street, Bucklersbury, and S^t. John's: some scores of them have rendezvoused these two last nights, but upon beat of drum, and appearing of any small part of the Militia, have scampered away, and by flight provided for their safety. The Lord Mayor and Lieutenancy of the City, as well as the Officers of the County of Middlesex,

keeping a strict eye to the least motion that is made by these young mutineers.

Our Fleet is still about the Downes, and that of the Dutch about Torbay, several of their sea and land men desert them, last night a Lieutenant of one of their Men of War was examined at the Council in Whitehall, he was originally a Scotsman, and says their Fleet is but forty-four sail, and twelve fireships, and no great vessels among them, and that they begin to want provisions.

We have no farther apprehension of a party of their fleet being gone Northward, for that Major-general MaCay who was to command them was one of the first who landed in the West.

We are told the Duke of Beaufort has broke his arm at Bristol, which, if true, is the greater mischance at this time that his presence is so necessary for the King's service at that place.

The French go on with their conquests in Germany without control, it being sleeping time with the Germans, who did not expect a campaign in the depth of Winter; all the Palatinate is surrendered, and many of the Locks of the Rhene in the Electorates of Cologne, Mayence, and Treues; Coblentz, the famous magazine and fountain of good Rhenish wine, is bombarded, and quite ruined to the ground, but the French of a sudden retired from before it, likely to go upon some design that required more haste. The French

are drawing men together towards the borders of Holland, being loath to slip the opportunity of the Prince of Orange's absence with the chief and best of the Dutch officers.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary to
the Commissioners for the Revenue
of Ireland, at Dublin.

LETTER CCCLXVIII.

The same to the same. Lord Lovelace taken in his way to join the Prince of Orange. Dr. Burnet reads the Prince's Declaration at Exeter. News from the West.

[IBID. p. 374. Orig.]

London, Nov. 15, 1688.

SIR,

LAST night came an express from Cirencester in Gloucestershire, with an account that the Lord Lovelace riding through that town with a strong party of about a hundred horse very well armed, was stopped by the Militia of the County, and they requiring of him what was his business to go so armed, and whither he was a going; but his Lordship not giving any good answer

of himself or his company thought it his best way to fight his passage through, and charging the Militia, which was but part of a Troop, they came to blows, and in the scuffle one Major Louridge and his Son who commanded the Militia were killed, one Captain Williams and five or six more wounded; but we do not yet hear how many of the rebels were killed; only that the Lord Lovelace and thirteen of his followers were taken and are now in the Gaol at Cirencester.

This Party designed to go join the Prince of Orange in the West, from whence the Lord Lovelace had been come but few days, and those with him are supposed to be his tenants and neighbours, but none of any great note that I can yet hear of.

We are told from good hands at Exeter that Dr. Burnet has taken possession of that Cathedral,^a and both preached in it on Sunday last before the Prince of Orange, and then openly read the Prince's Declaration; though the Prince and he well approved of the not reading the King's late Declaration. Burnet sent in the Prince's name to all the Clergy, commanding them also to read it, and to read a Form of Prayer for the Prince's good success, but they are said to have all unanimously refused, and rejected the Proposal.

We do not find that any one Gentleman of quality, substance, or estate is come in to them from the West, but some from the Eastern parts of England flock to

^a The Bishop of Exeter had fled to Court, as will be seen in another Letter.

them by the means and interest of those Lords and others said to be already there, as E. Shrewsbury, E. Maxfield, Lord Mordent, one of the Whartons, Lord Wiltshire, and some Scotch Lairds also.

The Prince has his Privy Council which meets every day, which consists of the said Lords and other Gentlemen, as Major Wildman (and some other Oliverians) together with Burnet, Ferguson, and Balfour who is a Scotch field-preacher, and said to be the man that murdered the Archbishop of St. Andrews about the year 78 and for which he has been since fled and protected by the States of Holland.

His Majesty is very well satisfied with the zeal and care of the Militia in Glostershire, who behaved themselves so well upon the occasion in taking the Lord Lovelace, and it is said his Majesty intends some particular mark of favour to every one concerned in that action which, as it is much for their own honour and for the credit and reputation of the Militia of that County, so it is hoped it may prove a good example to the Militia of other Counties to do their duty likewise.

Some Letters from the West say the Prince of Orange intends for Bristol, and thence to Glostershire and to Salop, and that he has abundance of copper and tin Boats to use upon the Severn; but of this, time must tell us the certainty, and his Majesty has sent some thousands of his army to dispute their passage about Bristol.

Orders are given to stop all passengers in all parts of England who have no passes from a Secretary of State, and the Militia are to take care in it, as well as the civil Magistrate.

For John Ellis, Esq. Sec. to the Commissioners for the Revenue of Ireland, at Dublin.

LETTER CCCLXIX.

The same to the same.

[IBID. p. 375. Orig.]

17 Nov. 88.

JUST now late comes yours of the 3^d. This day at two o'clock his Majesty marched for Windsor with the Prince of Wales. They'll be tomorrow at Bazinstoke or Andover. The Queen is here still! This is a melancholy time with us all; what adds to our pain is, that our Fleet set sail yesterday in quest 'tis thought of the Dutch Fleet. God send us good success. A Petition signed by the Archbishops and several Lords (about seventeen in all) was this noon delivered his Majesty, praying him to call a Free Parliament, and to prevent the effusion of blood. I know not what answer it had.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary for the Revenue of Ireland, at Dublin.

LETTER CCCLXX.

The same to the same. General News.

[IBID. fol. 177.]

London, Nov. 17, 1688.

SIR,

YESTERDAY his Majesty's Fleet under the Lord Dartmouth set sail out of the Downs towards the West, the wind N. E. a brisk gale, and it is confidently reported his Lordship's orders are to fight the Dutch.

The Lord Lovelace and his partizans that were taken with him are removed from Cirencester Gaol to Gloster Castle under a strict guard.

The Prince of Orange continues to seize on the King's money at Exeter : besides the £300 we formerly mentioned, we are told now of £4000 more arriving from the Customs and Excise.

* * * * *

This day was published a proclamation forbidding the holding of Exeter fair, or any other fair within twenty miles of that place.

Yesterday the Bishops in Town attended his Majesty, but how far any persons have expressed their desire of an accommodation, we know no farther than the common report.

On Thursday last the Bishop of Exeter kissed the King's hand in order to be Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Bristol to be Bishop of Exeter.

A bill was brought to the Grand Jury against Captain Lexham for dispersing the Prince of Orange's Declaration, but would not find it, as is reported, unless they had a sight of a copy thereof.

One Mr. Purefoy is taken into custody of a Messenger, and a Lieutenant in the Lord Dartmouth's regiment is brought back.

On Thursday evening we were not a little surprised that part of some regiments had deserted to the enemy.

His Majesty departed this day and lies at Windsor for to-night, to-morrow at Basingstoke, and will be at Salisbury on Monday.

The ten Officers taken in the Dutch fly boat were removed from the Gate-house to Newgate.

This day the Queen with the Prince of Wales removed to Windsor. The Gentleman that writes the news being called this day about extraordinary business, has been forced to leave the collection of the news to his clerk.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary to
the Commissioners for the Revenue
of Ireland, at Dublin.

LETTER CCCLXXI.

*The same to the same. Reports and Information of
the Day.*

[IBID. fol. 379.]

London, Novemb^r. the 20^h. 1688.

SIR,

THOUGH it be commonly and credibly reported that our Fleet sailed by Dover on Friday and by Portsmouth on Saturday last, yet there is no manner of account yet come upon what design it was bent, but all conclude it was with orders to find out the Dutch Fleet, which is still about Torbay. But the sharp East winds we have had these three days have been one reason that we have heard of no action.

His Majesty lay on Saturday at Windsor, and on Sunday night at Andover, and was expected yesterday betimes at Salisbury.

Here is a report as if Sir Rowland Guynne were landed with a Party in Wales, where he hopes to find those that will join him in great numbers, but some think he has not experience sufficient in military affairs as to make it very probable.

We hear the Militia are every where strict in exa-

mining such as pass and traverse the country, especially if the persons or their numbers be any thing suspicious.

It is said his Majesty hath sent for the breaking down the Bridge of Kersham near Bristol to prevent the incursion of the Rebels into Gloustershire.

His R. H. the P. of Wales went from St. James on Saturday in his way (it is believed) towards Portsmouth. The Queen continues still at Whitehall, but will follow, as people say, in a few days.

The Dutch Army is reported to begin to want money, yet the strictness of discipline keeps the soldiers in quiet. The Prince is said to have hanged one for stealing a bone of mutton, yet we do not hear any correction was given those that robbed the King's Party of their horses and clothes.

* * * * *

The Petition presented on Saturday by the Archbishops and other Lords, about nineteen, is printed, the Prayer of it is that his Majesty would forthwith call a free Parliament, and use such means as should to him seem fit for preventing the effusion of Christian blood.

A Report is very hot about Town that the Lord Delamere is up in Cheshire at the head of a considerable body of Horse, that he declared himself in favour of the Prince of Orange's proceedings, and had himself read that Prince's Declaration at the Market Cross; those rumours adding at the same time the names of sundry Lords and Gentlemen that concur with that

Lord in the same measures and that their general rendezvous is to be at Derby ; but though several expresses are dispatched upon this account, yet as all this is with uncertainty we shall forbear all particulars till further confirmation.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary to
the Commissioners for the Revenue
of Ireland, at Dublin.

LETTER CCCLXXII.

The same to the same. Continuation of News.

[IBID. fol. 381. Orig.]

London, Nov. 22, 1688.

SIR,

THE winds have continued so loud and violent of late that we could not expect to hear of any action between the Fleets, were they both never so well disposed. Besides we are told the Dutch Fleet is dispersed by the late storm ; above thirty sail being driven to the Westward towards Lands End. His Majesty's Fleet rides by Westwards of Portsmouth, not many leagues from Torbay.

We want the confirmation of the news that is spread about, as if there had happened a rencontre betwixt a

party of his Majesty's Army and that of the Prince of Orange, and that Colonel Kirk and some others are killed. Nor do we find it to be true what is said of Mr. Bernard Howard's being killed in a duel by one of his own officers, who had provoked Mr. Howard to give him some unbecoming language.

His Majesty is in good health at Sarum, and reviews some part of his troops daily, who are cheerful and brisk. The Marshal de Schomberg threatened to bring most of them to their night caps, without striking a stroke.

People please themselves here with a conceit as if Admiral Herbert had met with a French Squadron, and had at one dash sunk nine or ten of them, which is every whit as true as that an army of 50,000 French are already landed at Dover.

Though there never was more occasion of inquiry for busy impertinent people that gad about all day long for coffee and news, yet never was less certainty of what passes in the world; most people affecting to disguise the truth, and there being at present about the City many engines that are made use of to spread what most suits the humour of some party; yet the City of London was never more quiet, every man minding his business and securing their debts, and the generality of the soberer and the richer sort have expressed their dislike of these proceedings, which are like to perpetuate and entail war upon the nation, by the removal

of the Prince of Wales who is now at Portsmouth, and as some will have it will pass into France.

We have no farther account of the Lord Delamer and others, in and about Cheshire, who are said to march out of that County to join others about Staffordshire and Nottinghamshire, in order to march to the West; it is a long march, and accidents may happen in the way. We do not yet hear of Sir Rowland Gwyne.

Our foreign advices tell us the Lord Thomas Howard was come away from Rome carrying with him among other things the Pope's Bull, whereby he submits all the differences between him and France to his Majesty's determination and mediation.

The Prince of Orange has been at Bridgewater, and other places in the neighbourhood, and swept away all the horses in the County; haunting all the markets, and seizing all the cattle that come in, but giving some money for them; he took away a hundred in one market day at Tiverton, and borrowed seven from Sir Creswell Tint, a gentleman of that neighbourhood. We do not yet hear of his advancing further. It is said he has turned out the Corporation of Exon, and granted them a new Charter. He has also settled three Commissioners to manage the Revenue of Customs, Excise, and Hearth-money, who are Lord Wiltshire, William Harbord the late Surveyor General, and Monmouth's Anthony Rowe.

It is said He and his Council have again published

another Declaration, which is not yet seen in these parts, offering to be confined with his army to any corner of the Kingdom till a Free Parliament be called ; but this is but a hearsay.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary to the Commissioners for the Revenue of Ireland, at Dublin.

LETTER CCCLXXIII.

The same to the same.

[IBID. fol. 335. *Orig.*]

London, Nov. 23^d. 1688.

I HAD yours of the 23^d. past, and thank you in the name of the Kingdom for the quiet repose you promised us this winter ; but by the last Easterly wind you would find we are not to enjoy such sweet sleeps as you wish us, for the Army 27,000 strong will be able to offer battle by Tuesday next on Salisbury Plains, and our imperial Monarch at the head of them, where my person (amongst his faithful subjects) intend to stick by him. I am like to be well paid for my pains, but cannot at this instant tell the value, but it is no part of the reason of my going : though I can (to my sorrow) say why milk-asses are provided for. The

—— health is in a very ill state, what with the fatigue of these preparations, and the anguish of such a sort of people's going to the enemy, viz. we are well assured of the Earls Wilshire, Shrewsbury, Maclesfeild, Lords Lorme, Mordent, Mr. Sydney, &c. we fear E. Dev— Exe— Rad— Lord Lovelace, E. Manchester, Lord Grey Rut—, with eighty Gentlemen and a great number of the finest horses of England. Our intelligence from the West comes slow or is much concealed: the end of these matters are dreadful, or at least the execution. This Household went to-day, and we think the King may before or on Monday. If I should repeat all the occurrents pass here, they would fill volumes; but the ordinary people list themselves apace, and the gentry thereabouts are slow in coming in, but those of the East make up the want sufficiently. D. of Grafton is here though calumniated, and some others. None can be absent two days but undergo censure. Lord Colchester, Thomas Wharton, Charles Godfrey, Anthony Roe, &c. are gone I fear.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary of
his Majesty's Revenue in Ireland,
Dublin,
Ireland.

LETTER CCCLXXIV.

. to *John Ellis, Esq.* *More News.*

[MS. DONAT. 4194. fol. 337. *Orig.*]

* * This Letter is in a different hand to the preceding Letters; and evidently came from a different person.

London, Nov. 24th. 1688.

SIR,

THE Falmouth Letters of the 19th. instant say, the Company of Foot of the Earl of Huntington's Regiment that was in Pendennis Castle are marched towards Plymouth, and a Company of the Militia marched in, to which are to be added three Companies more of the Militia who are to relieve each other.

* * * * *

Last week a great Tin-work gave over, by which four hundred Tinnners are out of employ, who it is feared will all march to the Prince of Orange. None yet of the County of Cornwall are come in unto him.

In the Western parts reports have been of a massacre in Ireland of six thousand; but a Vessel is come into Falmouth which came out of Cork the last week. The master says that all was in peace and quiet, and no such thing feared.

* * * * *

The Prince hath seized Dartmouth Castle, and is marched Eastwards.

Yesterday and this day the Officers in the Tower of London have been employed in planting mortars upon the White Tower, which makes a noise among the women and children.

On Tuesday morning the King intended to rendezvous his whole Army on the Plain next Salisbury; and it is generally believed the Army was then drawn up. But I have not seen any Letters thence.

* * * * *

The Prince hath left four thousand horse and foot in garrison at Exeter, and made Mr. Seymour, the late Speaker, governor.

The King's Majesty hath been a little indisposed, and some drops of blood fell from his nose, upon which His Majesty was let blood, and now is perfectly well.

A council of war, held at Salisbury, resolved it was His Majesty's interest to return to London with the army, lest the Prince, in his march, get betwixt the King and his capital city: to which His Majesty hath consented, and I am told the army is upon their march, and that the King (who was expected this night) will be here on Monday at the farthest.

A small party of foot being far advanced towards the King's forces, Col. Sarsefield commanded a detached party of horse and dragoons, and met with them at Wincaton, eighteen miles from Salisbury,

where the Colonel killed about thirty and hanged four, and lost of his own party five, and Col. Webb's son who was a cornet. But it is said young Schomberg meeting a party of the King's horse upon Doncaster road hath killed fifty-three out of sixty-five in revenge, refusing to give quarter, as is by report charged upon Col. Sarsefield, beside the hanging four which some say were revolvers.

The King's fleet are at Portsmouth now. Some have suffered much in the late storms, and I am told a Fourth Rate is lost.

Just now comes an express that the Earl of Danby and some Lords have seized York, the governor, and Castle, and declared for the Prince of Orange.

LETTER CCCLXXV.

. to Mr. Ellis. Storms. The Prince
of Orange's movements. The Rising in Cheshire.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4194. fol. 391. Orig.]

* * * This is in the same hand with the former anonymous Letters.

London, Nov. 24th. 88.

SIR,

WE had most violent storms these three nights past, which still began with the evenings, and must have

done great damage to the Fleets, though we have not yet the particulars of it. Two or three of his Majesty's ships are already put into Portsmouth to be refitted, and the Lord Dartmouth got in time enough to avoid the brunt of the hurricane.

It is said the Prince of Orange is marched with his artillery out of Exeter, and takes his way towards Axminster, and intends to encamp at a place called Wincanton (where the late Skirmish was, mentioned in the Gazette of this day), though some think his chief aim is upon Bristol, and will make the best of his way thither, though the season and those roads be very inconvenient for heavy carriage and cannon.

Most people had difficulty to believe that the Prince of Orange had forbidden praying for the King. But letters from good hands are said to confirm it, and that Burnet's prayer for success against the King is commonly used, though the English Clergy have refused it.

We are told of several Addresses and Petitions for a free Parliament that are coming from several parts of the Kingdom, but we are told the generality of England as well as this City do not intend to meddle with the merits of this Invasion, but to take a surer card, and so declare for the Monarchy and our Laws as now established. The Gentry of Yorkshire were assembled for that purpose on Thursday last, the result of whose deliberations we shall know ere long.

* * * *

Of all the men that have appeared in arms and declared for the Prince, none have done more zealously than those who began the dance in Cheshire, who gather weight like a snow-ball, and, as many affirm, do plunder as they go, having begun with the taking of a waggon of arms sent hence to one Captain Lee's company quartered at Manchester. But we must suspend our belief to what is nevertheless confidently reported, namely, that they fall foul upon their old friends and neighbours, (particularly Mr. Lewson-Gore, whose house they are said to have entered by force, and taken away all his arms and horses, and even his lady's coach-horses), by reason the nice will condemn this conduct as too outrageous a violation of the rules of Knight-errantry. The chief officers of this body are affirmed to be old Oliverians that have long lain lurking about Chester and Cheshire, in expectation of a day of plunder.

The Party that was detached to break the Bridge of Kenisham near Bristol was commanded by Captain Loyd of the Earl of Peterborow's Regiment, who in his return met seventeen sparks well mounted, marching to the West, and took nine of them prisoners, and all their Horse.

His Majesty continues in good health at Sarum; only was let blood once since his being there.

Several of the Duke of St. Alban's Regiment are

come back, though in a most plundered condition ; having refused the large pay and encouragement which was offered them ; but it would not weigh against their allegiance.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary to
the Commissioners for the Revenue
of Ireland, at Dublin.

LETTER CCCLXXVI.

*The same to the same. The King returns. The
Princess Anne withdraws herself. General News.*

[IBID. fol. 393. Orig.]

YESTERDAY between four and five of the clock the King came to Whitehall, and looks very well. We hear by some of his company that Prince George, the Dukes of Grafton, Ormond, Lord Churchill, Lord Dumlengrick, Sir George Hewitt, Colonel Trelawny, Colonel Berkeley, Lieutenant General Kirke, Mr. Harry Boyle, Captain Kendall, and very many others of note, are gone to the Prince of Orange's Army. Kirke, we hear, is retaken by the King's forces, and bringing to town ; but what is at least as bad news as this, is, that yesterday morning when the Princess of Denmark's women went to take her out of her bed,

they found she had withdrawn herself, and hath not yet been heard of. Nobody went in her company that we hear of besides Lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley. Lord Churchill's bedchamber place is given to Lord Melford, and his Troop of Guards to the Duke of Berwick; and it is said this morning that Lord Dover hath the Government of Portsmouth, and Mr. Skelton is made Lieutenant of the Tower. We hear to-day that the Duke of Albemarle is dead at Jamaica. The King hath sent to all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal that are about the Town to attend him this afternoon at four of the clock; if I hear any thing that passes there, you shall have it. I have told you many lamentable Stories, and I wish you do not hear more from other people. I thank you for your favour of the 5th of this month, and for the good Account you give me of yourself. Remember us to my Brother and Sister when you see them. I do not write to-night to either of them. All here are your servants. Pray tell me what is become of Dr. Dunn. I hope you have heard I have delivered the enclosed present you sent me for Lord Clarendon. I am always,

Dear Sir,

Yours most faithfully.

27th. Nov. 1688.

We hear that the Lords have spoke very freely to his Majesty. The things proposed by them were, a free

Parliament, a General Pardon, and a Treaty. The King hath taken a short time to consider of them, when they are to attend him again.

LETTER CCCLXXVII.

The Princess Anne to the Queen ; apologizes for absenting herself.

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 238.]

MADAM,

I BEG your pardon if I am so deeply affected with the surprising News of the Prince's being gone as not to be able to see you, but to leave this Paper to express my humble duty to the King and yourself; and to let you know that I am gone to absent myself to avoid the King's displeasure, which I am not able to bear, either against the Prince or myself: and I shall stay at so great a distance as not to return before I hear the happy news of a Reconcilement: and, as I am confident the Prince did not leave the King with any other design than to use all possible means for his preservation, so I hope you will do me the justice to believe that I am incapable of following him for any other end. Never was any one in such an unhappy condition, so divided between Duty and Affection to a Father and an Husband; and therefore I know not what I must do, but

to follow one to preserve the other. I see the general falling off of the Nobility and Gentry, who avow to have no other end than to prevail with the King to secure their Religion, which they saw so much in danger by the violent counsels of the Priests, who, to promote their own religion, did not care to what dangers they exposed the King.

I am fully persuaded that the Prince of Orange designs the King's safety and preservation, and hope all things may be composed without more bloodshed, by the calling a Parliament.

God grant an happy end to these troubles, that the King's reign may be prosperous, and that I may shortly meet you in perfect peace and safety ; till when, let me beg of you to continue the same favourable opinion that you have hitherto had of

Your most obedient daughter and servant,

ANNE.

LETTER CCCLXXVIII.

. to John Ellis, Esq. The Queen
and Prince gone for France. The King follows.
The Prince of Orange generally declared for.

Decemb. 11, 1688.

DEAR FRIEND,

I AM now to tell you that the Queen and Prince of Wales went down the River yesterday morning, and

'tis believed gone for France, and the King went this morning about the same time ; I hear hardly any body with him. God preserve him in health. But here all people are wondering. The Prince of Orange will be in Oxford this night. The people in the city are searching all Roman Catholic houses for arms and ammunition : and this day they are about the Strand and other places. The Duke of Northumberland has put out all Papists out of his Troop of Guards, and so they say they will out of all the Army. The King's party, which I hear was Colonel Butler's dragoons, and the Prince's, had a skirmish. 'Tis said about fifty of the King's were killed. This was about Reading, on Saturday night or Sunday. I am told a Common Council were called this night. The Bishops and Lords that are here sate at Guildhall to-day with my Lord Mayor, who is the best man in the King's absence ; and Colonel Skelton, who was Lieutenant of the Tower, came and yielded up his trust, and for the present my Lord Clare and some other Lords are in it.

This sort of News concerns every body ; but I now tell you, that the good Lady Dowager of Ossory died this morning about six o'clock. She was taken yesterday morning with a sort of an Apoplectic Fit, and had three or four of them ; and so that good Lady is taken out of a World that is, and is like to be very full of trouble.

The Prince seems to say he will settle Ireland; if so the Comptroller of the Ordnance was turned out without any cause.

I pray consult Garret and my cousin Gourny what is fit to be done; if that employment be in arrear in the Treasury, I wish an item were given not to pay.

This night I was frightened with the wonderful light in the sky, and 'twas the Rabble had gotten the wainscot and seats of a Popish Chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and set it on fire in the middle of it. Until we knew what it was we guessed it to be a great Fire. Here is a very great Guard, both Militia and the Army. You will hear very suddenly all declaring for the Prince of Orange, from whom the Commissioners sent to the King, before he went away, this Message; that he came to settle the Protestant Religion, and desired all the Papists might be disbanded, and to call a Parliament, and that he would not come near London but with the King's leave, and with what number of men the King should say, provided he had not a greater to mind him. But now 'tis believed he will be here very soon. My Wife and all in St. James's send hearty service to you. I hope I may see you in the Spring. God send us a good meeting.

LETTER CCCLXXIX.

. to John Ellis, Esq. *The Prince of Orange invited to Town. Tumults of the Mob. The Army disbanded. The Prince of Orange's Proposals. Lord Chancellor Jefferys taken in disguise.*

[IBID. p. 397. Orig.]

* * After the momentary excesses of the Mob, the most striking fact mentioned in this Letter is the capture of lord Chancellor Jefferys, the very sight of whom, though a prisoner and in disguise, frightened the Lord Mayor. His committal it appears was virtually the act of the Council at Whitehall.

A few years ago, the Portrait of this man drew universal attention at one of the Exhibitions of the British Gallery, where the benignity which the painter's art had thrown upon the countenance led many to suppose that History had been cruel to the Judge. Whether long acting in the distribution of justice as Recorder of London, at such a period, made his heart insensible for later life, may perhaps admit of doubt. Law certainly never wore so frightful an aspect as upon his last Circuit in the West. Did we want the proof of his severity, King James has himself given it; * Granger says he embraced the Judge upon his return, and called his Circuit "*Jefferys's Campaign.*"

London, Dec. 13th. 1688.

SIR,

UPON notice on Tuesday of the King's being secretly withdrawn, the English-Dutch Officers that were under confinement in the Savoy were discharged, and are now gone to attend the Prince.

* * * * *

* Life of James II. publ. from his own Memoirs, by Dr. Stanier Clarke, vol. ii. pp. 43, 44.

In our last we left the Lords assembled, as also the Common Council for this City. The former have departed, the Bishop of Ely, the Lords Pembroke, Waymouth, Culpepper, &c. to wait on the Prince; and the latter, four Aldermen, and eight Commoners, to carry his Highness an address and Invitation to Town: their names are Sir William Pritchard, Sir Samuel Dashwood, Sir William Ashurst, and Sir Thomas Stampe, the two Mr. Hublands, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Langham, Mr. Box, Mr. Robinson, Sir Benjamin Newland, and . A Messenger being likewise dispatched to the Lords in the North, to engage them to approach the Town.

On Tuesday night there was an alarm, occasioned by burning the Papists' Lincoln's Inn Fields Chapel; they did the like to the Chapels of St. John's Clerkenwell, and Lime-street, but not easily breaking into the latter, cried they would down with it, were it as strong as Portsmouth. And, accordingly, having levelled them, they carried all the trumpery in mock procession and triumph, with oranges on the tops of swords and staves, with great lighted candles in gilt candlesticks, thus victoriously passing of the Guards that were drawn up. And after having bequeathed these trinkets to the flames, they visited Harry Hills' Printing House,^a which they served in like manner. But, what is most

^a Henry Hills was Printer to the King for his Household and Chapel. His Printing House was "on the ditch side, in Black-Fryers." He was the Printer of Father Hudleston's "Plain Way to the Faith and Church."

ungrateful, their execution reaching to the Spanish Ambassador's House, which they plundered of all its rich furniture, plate, money, and three coaches, to the value as is computed of £20,000.

All sober people are extraordinarily concerned at this horrid violation of the Law of Nations, and the Lords are said to have assured his Excellency that they will study some means to make him satisfaction.

Yet, however ill this has been resented, and whatever precaution could be used, they did the like Yesterday evening to the Duke of Florence's Minister's House in the Haymarket. Nevertheless the Trained Bands came up to disperse them, and a soldier discharging his musquet at them, shot his officer (Capt. Douglassé) through the back. This performance being over they went to the Nuncio's, who being flown, the Landlord, with some money, compounded with them for the House. The flame of this Confusion still increasing, and the Mobile threatening to treat the French and all other Ambassadors' houses in like manner, the Council, being then assembled, got a body of Horse together, and ordering them to fire with ball, this gave a check to those disorders; though they seem still resolved to go through-stitch.

The King is said to have left a Paper behind him directed to the Earl of Feversham, for him to disband the Army, which his Lordship read at the head of most Regiments, and accordingly disbanded them, some with,

others without their Arms, and it is dismal to think what will become of such vast numbers of poor wretches, if the Prince's mercy and the People's compassion be not extraordinary.

In the mean while, the Lords Churchill and Colchester, now with the Prince, have sent to the Troop of Guards to be in a body, and they will unite them in a few days.

On Tuesday in the afternoon returned the Three Commissioners that were sent to the Prince of Orange, bringing with them Five Proposals from his Highness for the accommodating the present Differences, but were extremely concerned to find that the Prince's good inclinations and their good offices were rendered abortive by the King's being withdrawn.

We hear not yet what is become of their Majesties ; but the King is said to have taken along with him those Writs of Elections that were not issued out, as also the Broad and Privy Seals, with the Crowns and Scepters.

Yesterday the Lord Chancellor, in a black wig and other contrivances to disguise, offered a Collier fifty guineas to carry him to Hamburgh ; the Mate, having seen him formerly, suspected who he was, and consulting with a merchant, he advised them to repair to the Lord Mayor for an order to seize him ; but not meeting with satisfaction there, they repaired to the Council at Whitehall, and orders being accordingly

given, he was taken and brought amid universal execration of the People before the Lord Mayor, who upon sight of the Prisoner fell into a violent paralytique fit, so as to hinder him from examining him, and still continues ill. Nevertheless, upon the directions of the Council at Whitehall, the Lord Chancellor was committed Prisoner to the Tower.

The Bishop of Chester is said to have been seized near Dover, and Mr. Baron Jenner, Burton, and Graham at the Town of Fereham; Bishop Ellis is also secured, and William Penn was brought before the Lords at Whitehall who were prevailed upon to make 6000 bail for him; and diligent search is made after such others as are reputed to have been injurious to the Government.

The Prince is expected in town to-morrow.

About two this morning, an Alarm was spread through City and suburbs, of " Rise, Arme, Arme, the Irish are cutting throats;"^a insomuch that in half an hour's time there was an appearance of above an hundred thousand men to have made head against any enterprise of that nature; all the windows of the houses being lighted with candles from top to bottom; but these terrors were quickly over, upon notice that the Prince of Orange's Advance-Guard was near the Town.

This night came a Letter from the King himself at

^a This circumstance is particularly noticed by King James in the Memoirs of his Life, vol. ii. p. 257.

Feversham, directing what servants he has in Town to be to him hither with fresh linen and clothes. Besides those that are stopped at that place, many are stopped at Dover.

The Duke of Grafton arrived this evening at Whitehall.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary to the Commissioners for the Revenue of Ireland, at Dublin.

LETTER CCCLXXX.

. to John Ellis, Esq. *King James returns from Feversham. Arrival of the Queen and Prince at Ostend. Princess Anne's entry into Oxford.*

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4182. fol. 72. Orig.]

London, December 18th. 1688.

SIR,

THE King returned on Saturday from Feversham to Rochester, and on Sunday about four in the Afternoon came through the City, preceded by a great many Gentlemen bare-headed, and followed by a numerous Company with loud huzzas. The King stopped at the Queen Dowager's before he came to Whitehall, and the evening concluded with ringing of bells and bonfires.

Those at Feversham who rifled his Majesty of his money, &c. came with great contrition, and would have restored the same. But his Majesty not only refused to take it, but gave them ten guineas to drink his health.

The King before his coming from Feversham, made the Lord Winchelsea Lord Lieutenant of Kent in the room of Lord Teynham, as also Governor of Dover Castle.

His Majesty sending the Earl of Feversham with a Letter to the Prince of Orange, his Highness detained the said Earl for High Treason, declaring he did it for his disbanding the Army without orders, &c. at which his Majesty was somewhat concerned.

We had a general discourse that his Majesty would constitute the Prince of Orange Admiral and Generalissimo of all his Three Kingdoms. In effect it is almost done, for yesterday his Highness sent his Orders to all the King's forces in and about London to march out to certain quarters, except only the Lord Craven's Regiment, and six Companies of the King's Regiment to go and take possession of Portsmouth, assigning the Irish there in other Quarters, and subsistence money.

The Duke of Grafton has possessed himself of Tilbury Fort, and the Irish are sent away with passes; but Captain Nugent is committed to Maidstone, as beginning the late disorder.

Sunday last Sir William Waller came to town, and was publicly at the Coffee House, Church, and Meeting, and the Lord Colchester, Col. Godfrey, and Sir Thomas Clerges, who went to the Prince, are also in town.

The Prince has given the Earl of Oxford the Duke of Berwick's Regiment of Horse, which his Lordship was formerly Colonel of.

There came advice yesterday that the Queen and Prince of Wales were safely arrived at Ostend in Flanders.

Yesterday Sir Roger Lestrangle was seized and brought before the Court of Aldermen, and upon oath made by one Mr. Braddon of something in his writings tending against the Government, he was committed to Newgate.

One Major Littleton and Captain Adderley quarrelled and fought a duel in the street, and the former was killed in the rencontre.

The Princess of Denmark made a splendid entry into Oxford Saturday last ; Sir John Laneer with his Regiment meeting her Royal Highness some miles out of the town. The Earl of Northampton with five hundred Horse led the van. Her Royal Highness was preceded by the Bishop of London, at the head of a noble Troop of Gentlemen, his Lordship riding in a purple cloak, martial habit, pistols before him, and his sword drawn, and his Cornett had the Inscription

in golden Letters on his standard "*Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.*"^a The rear was brought up by some Militia troops. The Mayor and Aldermen in their formalities met her at the North Gate; and the Vice Chancellor with the Heads of the University attended in their scarlet gowns, made to her a Speech in English, and the Prince^b received her Royal Highness at Christ-Church Quadrangle with all possible demonstrations of love and affection, and they will be to-morrow at Windsor.

Last night the King went off from Court, and this day about three o'clock the Prince arrived at St. James's with great acclamations of joy and huzzas.

The Gentleman that writeth the News Letters being indisposed desires to be excused for writing not this day.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary to the Commissioners for the Revenue of Ireland, at Dublin.

^a Granger, in his account of Bishop Compton, alludes to this same appearance in arms, but at Nottingham, before the bishop came to Oxford. He says, the following is a remarkable instance of Bishop Compton's spirit. "King James discoursing with him on some tender point, was so little pleased with his answers, that he told him, 'He talked more like a colonel than a bishop.' To which he replied, 'that his Majesty did him honour in taking notice of his having formerly drawn his sword in defence of the constitution; and that he should do the same again, if he lived to see it necessary.' Accordingly, when matters were coming to extremity, he carried off the Princess Anne to Nottingham, and marched into that town at the head of a fine troop of gentlemen and their attendants, who had formed a guard for her Highness." *Biogr. Hist. of Engl.* vol. iv. p. 283.

^b Prince George of Denmark, as appears by another Letter.

LETTER CCCXXXI.

The same to the same. King James's final retirement from Whitehall. The Prince of Orange at St. James's.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 1482. fol. 76. Orig.]

London, Dec^{ber}. 20th. 1688.

* * * * *

WHAT we add to the King's last withdrawing from Whitehall is, that the Marquis Halifax, Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Delamere arrived at Whitehall on Tuesday about twelve o'clock, and brought the King the message to retire the same day, either to Hampton Court, or somewhere else, signifying that the Prince did not think it safe for him to come to London so long as his Majesty had such a confluence of Papists still about him, and that the Prince's Guards should go along with him to preserve him from the insults of the mobile; the King went accordingly at one o'clock, and lay that night at one Mr. Eekins's house an Attorney in Gravesend, and about ten next morning set forwards for Rochester. His Majesty's barge was followed by ten or twelve boats of the Prince's soldiers.

The Prince of Orange remains at St. James's, where

no great business were done yesterday by reason of paying and receiving Visits; only a Regiment was sent to possess themselves of the Tower; most of the Bishops about the town were with his Highness; the Duke of Norfolk came and paid his devoirs. The Prince in the afternoon went to Whitehall, and from thence, in the Queen's barge, to Somerset House to compliment the Queen Dowager. In his return hearing that the Prince and Princess of Denmark were come to town, he called to see them at the Cock-pit.^a

^a The Harleian Roll, Y. II. preserves the original Accompt of the Receipts and Expenses of King William, from the time of his landing to his Arrival at St. James's.

“ The Duplicament of the Accompt of Willm. Harbord, Esq. of the money by him received and paid for their Ma^{ties}. service in the West.

Recd. 21th. March, 1690-1.

The Duplicam^t. of the Accompt of the Right honorable Willm Harbord, Esq. one of their Ma^{ties} King Willm. and Queen Mary's Privy councill who was by the said King appointed Comissary gen^l. from the tyme of his landing in the West part of this Kingdome of England, untill his arrivall at his pallace of St. James, Wherein he the said Willm. Harbord doth voluntarily charge himself with the severall Sumes of mony by him or his Deputy George Bride received and paid for the said Kings Service between the 11th day of November 1688 and the 15th day of December following, of the Severall persons hereafter named, As by an Acco^t. thereof exhibited by the said George Bride upon his corporall oath taken before John Turton Esq^r. one of the Barons of his said now Ma^{ties}. Excheq^r. the 17th day of June 1689, That is to the best of his knowledge the same is a true Accompt of all the monies received and paid by the s^d. Willm. Harbord or his said Deputy for the service of the said King, within the time aforesaid, as by his said Accompt thereof will appear. And his said now Ma^{tie} haveing under his L^{res} of Privy Seale beareing date the 8th day of August in the first year of his Raigne signified his gracious will and pleasure that he is thereby and of his owne knowledge well satisfied with the truth of the said Accompt, and that it is just and reasonable that the said Willm Harbord should have full and plenary Allowance and Discharge of the severall Sumes of money by him or his said Deputy received and paid as aforesaid, did order and direct that in his Acco^t. thereof to be made up declared and passed in due forme and according to the Course of the Excheq^r. he should have allowance and be thereof discharged as hereafter is more particularly expressed, which said Accompt was taken and declared before the R^t. Hono^{ble}. St. John Lowther Barr^r. Richard Hampden esq^r. chancellor and under trea^r of the Excheq^r. St. Stephen Fox kn^t. and Thomas Pelham Esq^r. Lords Com^rs of their Ma^{ties} Treasury v^{co}. die Junij 1690.

That is to say;

One Capt. St. Ange, a French R. C. was seized at Court and sent prisoner to Newgate.

The SAID ACCOMPTANTS are herein charged with the severall Sumes of money hereafter specified to be received by the said George Bride by order of the said Willm. Harbord Esqr. Comisary Gen^l. as aforesaid.

Money issuing out of the Duty of Excise.

Viz.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Of Mr. Tipping, being money he seized in the hands of Mr. Coven Collector of the Excise in part of the Countys of Devon and Somersett	70	0	0
Of Mr. Ferguson, being money he seized in the said Mr. Covens hands	304	15	3
Of Mr. Anthony Row, being money received at Exeter arising out of the duty of Excise within the Collection of the said Mr. Coven	66	2	1
More of him, in further part of the duty arising by Excise about the City of Exeter	97	0	0
More of him, arising by the duty arising by the Excise of Coffee in the said City of Exeter	5	2	1
More received at the Excise Office in Exeter out of the said Duty arising in the parishes of Hawtrey, Kenton, Topham, and Afflington	251	15	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
More received of the said Mr. Coven Collector of the Excise in the County of Devon	244	2	0
Of Sundry persons at Newberry in the County of Berks, arising out of the Excise	92	10	3
Of Mr. Pinkney, out of the duty of Excise at Wilton and other places adloyneing to Salisbury	34	1	1
Of Sundry Brewers at Salisbury, viz. of Mr. John Paine brewer 18l. 12s. 8d. Mr. Francis Mercer 24l. 6s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Mr. Gardner brewer 15l. 0s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. Mr. James Ely brewer 5l. 10s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. Mr. Will'm Penny brewer 18l. 4s. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.	81	14	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Of Mr. Yorke, servant of the Lord Walgrave, being <i>Trophy money raised in the County of Somersett</i> remaineing in his hands	250	0	0
Of Will'm. Trenchard, as being <i>presented to his Royall highnes the Prince of Orange</i> , his now Ma'tie, by the <i>Clóthiers of Wiltshire</i>	250	0	0
Of Mr. Score, deputie collector of the Customs at Exeter, the sume of	800	14	6
Of Mr. Waterman the postmaster at Salisbury	46	11	0

Amounting in all the said Severall Receipts to the Sume of 2297 8 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
whereof the said Accomptants are allowed and discharged.

THE DISCHARGE.

By mony paid for grinding of wheat at Exeter, bought for the use of the Army 3 4 6

The Garrison of Portsmouth quietly submitted to the order of the Prince, and drew thereout, and the

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
By money paid to a Messenger sent into the Country, to enquire after Horses	1	1	6
By money paid two Soldiers, to quarter upon the Bakers who refused to bake bread for the Army	0	2	0
By money paid severall Bakers at Exeter for bakelng 30758 loaves of Bread at 4 ^d . per loafe w ^{ch} . were delivered to the Army there . . .	384	9	6
By money paid the Butchers for 30304 ^l . pd ^t of Beef at 2 ^d . per lib. . . .	252	10	4
By money paid the Shoemakers for xx. paire of Shoes at 3 ^s . 6 ^d . each paire	3	10	0
By money paid a Messenger carrying out Warrants to summon the Officers of Excise	0	11	0
By money paid John Blake, John Smith, Robert Horndall, and Anthony Walker gaugers of Excise in and about Exeter, their Salaries at 7 ^{li} . each	28	0	0
By money paid the Dragoones that attended the Officers of Excise, the people refuseing to pay the said Duty	2	0	0
By money paid for Parchm ^t . for sundry Comissions	0	1	0
By mony paid for a paire of Shoes made for a pattern for the Shoemakers	0	3	6
Paid Mounsier Vandermill, major of the Artillery	27	10	0
For carrying a 100 ^{li} . in mony from Exeter to Honiton	0	2	0
Paid at Honiton to severall Bakers for 6948 loaves of Bread baked there for the Army	86	17	0
For bakelng Rye Bread at Exeter made of the Rye brought out of Holland	9	18	0
Paid the Dragoones who accompanied the Officers in collecting the Excise when the people refused payment, and for guarding the money	0	15	0
By money paid Sr. Robert Peyton at Crookhorne by his Mat's partienlar direccions, to supply his imediate wants	20	0	0
Paid to Cap ^t . Wingfield at Sherborn by order of the Lord Churchill towards the relief of those troopes which came to his Ma ^t 'ie, particularly those of his owne Regiment	20	0	0
To the Dragoones for pressing of waggons and carts in the Country . .	0	4	6
To the Dragoones who brought Mr. York to Wincanton, and carried the money to Henley	1	0	0
To Capt. Bedford for subsistence money for those souldiers of Maior Generalls Kirkes and Coll ^t Trelawnys Regim ^{ts} . by his Ma ^t 'ies direccions	200	0	0
To Cap ^t . Pownall for the subsistence of the Lord Churchills Regim ^t . .	400	0	0
To a Messenger at Salisbury who was sent to press carts and waggons .	0	3	0
To Samuell Bone one of the Officers of Excise at Salisbury, for his salary	3	0	0
To a Messenger sent to seize a considerable quantity of Meale . . .	1	0	0

Duke of Berwick rendered himself to the Lord Dartmouth on board the Fleet. Col. Talmash is said to be made Governor of the said place by the Prince.

	l.	s.	d.
Paid for 282 paire of Shoes at 4 ^s . p' paire distributed among the Souldiers at Salisbury	56	8	0
For 70 pair more at 3 ^s . 6 ^d . p' paire	12	5	0
Paid there for 9051 loaves of Bread at 2 ^d . each	75	8	6
Paid to Mr. Anthony Smith, being left uppaid by the Dutch Soldiers	1	7	6
To a Messenger sent to summon in the Officers of Excise, & for his horse hire	1	1	6
To a Messenger at Hungerford, sent to press cartes and waggons	0	10	0
For Parchment for makeing Comissions	0	1	0
For Hire of Carriages from Salisbury to Newberry which brought meale	3	0	0
For bringng money ariseing by Excise from Newberry to Wallingford	0	2	6
Paid tenn Dragoones two Serg ^s . one weekes pay to attend the pressing of waggons and cartes to carry the money	7	0	0
Paid at Newberry for 3521 loaves of bread delivered the Soldiers by directions of Count Solmes	29	6	10
Paid Mr. Bradwell, an officer of the Excise, at Newberry for his Sallary upon his paym ^t . of the money he had received for that duty	0	5	0
Paid at Wallingford for 112 paire of Shoes brought thither from Salisbury	22	8	0
For two Carts bringng meale from Salisbury to Wallingford	1	0	0
Paid at Wallingford for releife and dyett of Prisoners taken at Reading	2	10	0
Paid there for 1237 loaves of bread at 2 ^d . each	12	17	8
Paid Mr. Pinekney and other Officers of Excise sallaryes, bringing the money collected by them to Wallingford	11	4	0
Paid at Henley by his Ma ^t s order to Capt. Langston for the subsistance of Coll. Langstons Regim ^t	200	0	0
Paid for 282 Loaves of bread baked at Henley & delivered the Soldiers there by order of Count Solmes	2	7	6
Paid at Windsor for bakeing of 1400 loaves of Bread of the Meale taken at Sallsbury	2	16	0
Paid to Six Teames and Carriages from Wallingford to Windsor for the service of the Army and his Ma ^t s Servants	3	0	0
For bringing 1000 loaves of bread from Wallingford to Windsor by water	1	0	0
For the Hire of three Teames from Windsor to London	1	5	0
To the Dragoones for pressing Teames at Windsor and guarding the money to London	0	10	6

In all 1899 17 4

A Minister in the City is made one of the Prince's Chaplains. Mr. Ferguson goes publicly to the Coffee Houses.

It is said an Order will suddenly be published to banish all Papists ten miles out of town.

One of the Prince's Guards was found in Long Acre with his throat cut and other wounds about him, and being known that he quartered in a Papist's house near that place, the people are secured upon it.

The Lord Teynham and Mr. Richard Lee are seized and sent to Upnor Castle prisoners. The Earl of Feversham is put in Round Tower in Windsor Castle.

For John Ellis, Esq. Secretary to the Commissioners for the Revenue of Ireland, at Dublin.

Charges of passing this Acco ^t . viz ^t .		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Lastly there is herein allowed in pursuance and by vertue of his now Ma ^t s L ^r s of Privy Seale before mencioned for the Charges of the said Will ^m Harbord in passing his said Accompt		60	0	0
Sume Totall of the paymentts & allowances aforesaid		1959	17	4
And soe there remains in the Accomptants hands undisposed of at the time of the determination of this Acco ^t		337	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$

Ex^t p^r Bro. Bridges Audth.

Declaratur xx^o. die Novber, 1689.

DELAMER.

Declaratur v^{to}. die Junij 1690.

JOHN LOWTHER

R. HAMPDEN

STE. FOX

T. PELHAM,

LETTER CCCLXXXII.

The same to the same. King James arrives in France.

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 4194. fol. 403. Orig.]

London, Dec. 29th. 1688.

THE 24th. of last Month was the date of yours with me; many transactions you may be sure hath passed here; the Prints are so full of them that I will say the less in this way: I wish you here for many reasons.

The King landed on Tuesday morning near Marquès^a and went post to Paris on Wednesday. I cannot see who your Government will fall to; I think neither our friend nor the pert pretender. The Prince is very unwilling to break any one Regiment, so that he must have further work ere long for them: I know not what will be my lot, but I am vain enough to think in a general bustle I shall shift for one. You will pardon me that I say no more.

KING JAMES, on the 12th of March 1689, landed at Kinsale in Ireland, at the head of five thousand French Troops. King William, in all probability, did not expect the attempt to be made so soon, or he hoped to take King James upon his return. Among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the Museum the following original paper is preserved:^b

^a He landed at Ambletouse, at three o'clock in the morning.

^b MS. Lansd. 849. fol. 79.

"Instructions.

WILLIAM R.

To our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor Arthur Herbert Esq^r. Admiral and Commander of our Ships in the Narrow Seas. Given at our Court at Whitehall this 16 day of March, 1688-9. In the First Year of our Reign.

In case you shall take any Ship or Vessel in which the late King James shall happen to be, you are to treat him with Respect, and immediately send us an Account thereof. But without expecting any further Orders you are hereby required to transport him to some Port belonging to the States General of the United Provinces, and give notice of the Arrival to the said States, and you are to dispose of the said King James into such hands as the said States shall appoint to receive him.

You are to leave such a Number of Ships in the Stations appointed by the other Instructions as you shall judge that service will require.

W. R.

By His Maties. command,
NOTTINGHAM."

LETTER CCCLXXXIII.

*The Earl of Melfort to Mr. Innes from Rome. The
Circulation of the Gun Money in Ireland.*

[MS. LANSD. MUS. BRIT. 1163. p. 164.]

* * * The portion of the Letter here printed, with several other Letters which succeed it, are copied from the Earl of Melfort's Register of what he wrote to the Court of St. Germain's during his negotiation with the Pope, from March 8th to Dec. 13th, 1690, preserved in three Volumes in folio among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the Museum.^a These Volumes were bought at Paris in 1744 of the then Countess of Melfort, who had married the Earl's grandson, by Mr. Barbutt Secretary of the Post-Office. They afterwards became the property of Philip Carteret

^a MS. Lansd. Mus. Brit. 1163.

Webb, Esq. at whose decease they were purchased by the Marquess of Lansdowne at that time Earl of Shelburne.

The Earl of Melfort had become a convert to Popery early in the reign of James the Second, to whom he was Secretary of State. In 1689 he accompanied that King to Ireland, where in the capacity of sole Secretary he endeavoured to engross all power to himself, and excited the jealousy not only of Lord Tyrconnel^a the Lord Deputy of that Kingdom, but even of the Count d'Avaux the French Ambassador; so that James was obliged to remove him from the direction of affairs, and, the Queen fearing the same jealousy at St. Germain's, he was sent at once to negotiate the King's business at Rome, where Louis the Fourteenth is said to have allowed him a pension to support his character.

This notice of him, which occurs in the Life of King James the Second published by Dr. Stanier Clarke,^b explains the neglect with which, from his own account, the Court of St. Germain's treated his dispatches; not condescending, even as late as the month of October 1690, to let him know either privately or officially, the fate of the battle of the Boyne.

Some of these Letters are interesting, as displaying, in true colours, the conduct of the Pope toward King James. In prosperity professing zeal to assist him, in adversity giving pity only. Two or three of the Lord Melfort's Letters are impassioned.

When he returned to St. Germain's, the Earl of Melfort still continued a favourite with the King and Queen, and again had the administration of affairs, till a Letter which he wrote to his brother the Earl of Perth, intercepted by King William,^c caused Louis the Fourteenth to banish him to Angers. He died in 1713.

Mr. Innes, to whom the following Letter is addressed, as appears from

^a Lord Tyrconnel was afterwards created Duke by King James. The following is the Earl of Melfort's complaint of his unkindness, in a Letter to the Queen from Rome, dated Sept. 30th.

"Your Majesty is pleased to bid me say no more of that matter of the Duke of Tyrconnel, and I obey most heartily since I know it is your inclination, which may convince your Majesty of the difference of the regards he and I have to your service; for had he as easily laid down his unjust grudge against me, as I do now my just one at him, I had been in less trouble, and I hope the King would have been better served. I dare say your Majesty condemns him in your heart for the want of generosity at least. If I had had him in Scotland, I and all my friends should have strove to serve him, and to make him greater than we found him; but, without a fault, to let loose a pack of about fifty nephews against me, besides the females, and all the time protest all manner of friendship and respect for me, swearing he could not tell what could be done when I was gone, to send his Dutchess to cry an hour at my lodgings, and make me cry too for company, and all this while harbor malice in his heart is horrible. But since your Majesty commands, for ever I forgive him and am friends with him, and will do what you will have me in that as in every thing else."

MS. Lansd. 1163. vol. iii. p. 110.

^b Vol. ii. p. 389.

^c It is printed in Kennett's Hist. Eng. 1st edit. vol. iii. pp. 792, 793.

Bishop Kennet's List of the Court of St. Germain's, was King James's Secretary of State for Scottish Affairs.^a He is better known perhaps as the Principal of the Scots College at Paris.

23^d. April, 1690.

* * * * *

My Letters from Ireland say that the Brass Money goes now amongst the Rebels' army as well as guineas, and that it pays debts and clears mortgages as currently as any other money ever did; and that I have but very few enemies left there. The World is a game of hazard, and not worth a wise man's pains to be anxious for; do our duty, and be careless of the Crowd.

* * * * *

THE different expedients to which King James resorted upon his arrival in Ireland to procure a sufficient supply of money having failed, he attempted to remedy the scarcity by coining Sixpences of copper and brass. These were first made current by proclamation June 18th 1689; and before the end of the month, in pursuance of another proclamation,

^a King James's Court at this time consisted of

1. The Duke of Powis, *Lord Chamberlain*.
 2. Col. Porter, *Vice Chamberlain*.
 3. The Earls of Dunbarton and Abercorn, *Lords of the Bedchamber*.
 4. Captains Macdonald, Beadles, Stafford, and Trevanion, *Grooms of the Bed-chamber*.
 5. Fergus Graham, Esq. *Privy Purse*.
 6. Edw. Sheldon, Esq. ——— Sheldon, Esq. Sir John Sparrow, *Board of Green Cloth*.
 7. Mr. Strickland, *Vice Chamberlain to the Queen*.
 8. Mr. Brown, brother to the Lord Viscount Montacute, *Secretary of State for England*.
 9. Sir Richard Neagle, *Secretary of State for Ireland*.
 10. Father INNES, President of the Scots College, *Secretary of State for Scotland*.
 11. John Caryll, Esq. *Secretary to the Queen*.
 12. ——— Stafford, Esq. previously Envoy in Spain.
- The Five last were the King's Cabinet Counsellors.

Kennett's Hist. Engl. 2d edit. vol. iii. p. 601. note.

pieces somewhat larger were circulated, purporting to be Shillings and Half-crowns, to which in the next year Crowns of brass were added. These are usually called GUN MONEY, probably from the circumstance of some brass cannon having been delivered to the Commissioners of the Mint from the court of Dublin Castle, to be converted into this money, which was also made from bell-metal and every description of what was technically called battery.

In this wretched sort of money the popish soldiers received their subsistence, and the protestant tradesmen and creditors their debts; James promising at a more favourable time to exchange it for silver.

Nine days after the battle of the Boyne, King William ordered these coins, by proclamation, to be reduced in value: the crown, and the half-crown of the larger size to go for a Penny each, the smaller half-crown to go for Three farthings, and the shilling and the sixpence for a Farthing each.^a

LETTER 'CCCLXXXIV.

The Earl of Melfort to Father Maxwell.

[MS. LANSD. MUS. BRIT. 1163 p. 164.]

23^d. April, 1690.

* * * * *

GOD be thanked that the succours are safely arrived to you, and that his holy hand appears for the King. I am glad of the success of the Copper Money. God alone was the sender of it, and nobody has reason to be vain of it. To his own name be the glory of it, for undeniably it has done good; but that it should go amongst the Rebels is a strange thing.

^a See Simons on Irish Coins, and Ruding's Annals of the Coinage of Britain.

I am doing all I can, and that to no great purpose; the hearts here are harder than marble, and there is not such a thing as fellow feeling (the presbyterian word). No man knows what it is to do more than just to his own family, and it is a *tramontano* folly to give to any but for interest, I mean temporal. I labour against all the oppositions imaginable, and yet gain ground, and am in no ill reputation with the men of the Country who are very nice of esteeming strangers: but God I hope will give success to the King here and every where else, and that he shall quickly put him in possession of his own.

* * * * *

LETTER CCCLXXXV.

*The Earl of Melfort to the Queen of James II^d.
Anxiety for the confirmation of the News that the
Battle of the Boyne had been gained by James. His
Advice as to the first steps to be taken upon English
ground.*

[MS. LANSD. 1163. vol. ii. p. 225.]

* * * King William, the day before the battle of the Boyne, while reconnoitering, was wounded by a ball from a field-piece, which having grazed on the bank of the river slanted upon his right shoulder and tore the flesh. The English, seeing some disorder among those who attended him, set up a shout through their camp. The Report of King William's death flew presently to Dublin, and thence spread not only to Paris,

where the people expressed their joy by bonfires and illuminations, but through the whole of Europe. The Battle was fought upon July 1st, 1690.

During the action itself, King James stood with some squadrons of horse on Dunmore Hill; but Count Lauzun informing him that he would be soon surrounded by the enemy, he went off attended by the regiment of Sarsfield to Duleck, and thence to Dublin. He staid there one night: but the next morning, according to Kennett, attended by the Duke of Berwick, the Duke of Tyrconnel, and the Marquis of Powis, he went to Waterford, and thence to St. Germain. King James's own Memoirs say nothing of these attendants, but that the King went on board a vessel at Duncannon.

The Letter now before the Reader is instructive to those who peruse the page of History. It shows at least what one of his advisers recommended to James when impressed with the notion that Victory was his.

That James would have gone as far as Lord Melfort in his changes seems more than probable. The older he grew, the harder grew his heart. In the Latin letter which he wrote to the Pope from Dublin, 26th Nov. 1689, and which Lord Melfort himself presented to the Pope, James expressly says, "The only source of the Rebellions against us is that we embraced the Catholic Faith, and we do not disown that to spread the same not only in our Three Kingdoms, *but over all the dispersed Colonies of our Subjects in AMERICA* was our determination." ^a

12th. Aug. 1690.

May it please your Majesty,

ALL that concern, anxiety, joy, or fear can bring, being on me almost at once, at least by near succeeding fits, your Majesty cannot blame me if I long to be freed of them by a full confirmation of the success in Ireland and the death of the Prince of Orange, that the King is safe, and your Majesty once again happy in seeing and having so near a prospect of Whitehall.

^a "Unica turbarum contra uos excitatarum origo est, quod Catholicam Fidem amplexi simus, et eandem in tria Regna, et late sparsas per Americam nostrorum subditorum Colonias reducere statuisse, nuper neutrum negamus." The Letter is printed in Lord Somers's Tracts.

It is not a time to trouble your Majesty with long Letters, yet not knowing where the King's impatience may have carried him, and knowing where his affairs require him, if assisted as he may well hope to be with some troops and the French fleet, I mean to England, least he be parted ere this come, I continue to inform your Majesty that as soon as the happy news of the Usurper's defeat and death was brought hither, I demanded an audience, and in it saw all the expressions of a sincere joy in his Holiness for so important, so unexpected a success. What passed I shall not take up your Majesty's time now to repeat, least I might encroach on more necessary matters; only, in short, at the confirmation of the News he has promised to do for the King all he can do, and in the best manner he can, that is as to the owning of what he does, and this is an additional cause of my impatience for news from your Majesty.

I have been with the Ministers too, and all of them rejoice and speak fair, and I am confident something more considerable will be done, as for the last time they are to be at charge in this matter. Pray Heaven it may be so, for it is a hard task to get any thing here.

I need not put your Majesty in mind of the absent. I know your generosity too well to doubt it. For God's sake let me see the King once again, and then send me to the end of the World, and you shall find an obedience correspondent to the humble duty I owe.

The Duke of Tyrconnel has, as we are informed, behaved himself on this occasion, that, were he my mortal enemy, in duty to the King I would forgive him and love him; and I must say that Mr. de Lauzun deserves whatever can be done for him, as do all others in that action proportionably to their part in it.

Hoping this will be soon with your Majesty I cannot hinder myself from saying that the first steps in English ground are most dangerous, and that therefore great care is to be had how they are made as to Treaty, if that be absolutely necessary, which I hope in God it shall not; but if it is, all the rocks we have split upon must be minded, so as that in time coming we may not be in danger of the same fate. These rocks are obvious. Besides the Oaths and Penal Laws against dissenters from the Church of England, there is the standing Army of Foreigners, the power of Money, the exorbitant Usurpations of Parliaments, the Trial of High Treason or other crimes against the Crown by Juries, the Habeas Corpus Act, and such like, which, if not regulated more advantageously for the Crown or quite abolished, I can see no comfort the King can have of his Crown, or safety the Subjects can have from their own follies.

There is a great consideration of forming the Party the King will choose to govern by, for by a Party a factious State must still be mastered; endeavouring to use all equally in it, being a certain way to lose all.

And this, your Majesty may well remember, was an opinion I have had of a long time, and might have done good then, as experience shows now.

This Party ought to be of men of tried loyalty ; for with our Countrymen there is no trusting to new men nor to probabilities, so corrupt our blood is grown by hereditary rebellion against God and the King. Of this Party greater care is yet to be had of forming the Court, both in regard to the King's and to your Majesty's servants, that the persons composing it may be such as dart back the beams of glory they receive ; that is, do honour to your Majesty from whom they receive it ; that they be of the best blood, and prudentest, honestest, and loyalest principles ; such as may make others impatient and ambitious to come into the number ; not such as we have seen in times past.

Those amongst them who are in authority over others of them be men of Order, and have qualifications as well as quality to get respect and to force obedience, that things may look with that regularity which becomes the service of so great a Monarch ; and it were to be wished that the way of serving were put into a more modern dress. Above all things care must be had that such as have been active in the King's service in his absence be well rewarded, and all Advantages taken to punish such as have been the Authors or Promoters of this Rebellion ; and if the King be forced to pardon, let it be as few of the Rogues as he

can, and with a watchful eye over them, remembering that King David pardoned Chimei at his return to Jerusalem, but took care that he should sooner or later feel the smart of his wickedness the first failing he made.

Such as are excepted, no pardon should ever be allowed; and amongst these should be as many of those families where father and son both are engaged, or such as have been hereditarily disloyal; for from such there is no more loyalty to be expected than religion from the Devils. It is not in their nature, and Rebellion is like the sin of Witchcraft, neither can repent.

One thing has brought another, and when I begin to consider, all this is plainly impertinent to your Majesties, who understand your affairs infinitely better than any other. But it is the nature of true concern to be anxious for every interest of the persons it regards; and though I err, yet it is well meant, and I know your Majesty's goodness will pardon me, and though on this subject I have much more to add, yet respectfully I shall make my fault no greater at this time and at this distance.

If this comes safe to your Majesty's hands before any new orders be sent me, it will be more than time to send them; for as soon as the confirmation of this new Herod the Prince of Orange his death shall come, all that is to be expected from this will be immediately done, and my longer stay here will be needless, and I

am afraid prejudicial on several accounts, of which at this distance I dare not speak nor write freely as I would. I am extremely sorry to see from several Letters that some of your Majesty's servants of our Country at St. Germain have been so indiscreet as to show their dislike that the French should beat the English at sea. Indeed I have pain to believe them so little concerned in your Majesty's happiness, but it is written to the Cardinal de Fourbin and to the Duke de Chaulnes. If it have made no noise, then it is well. If there be any thing in it, such are most unworthy, be who they will, of the honour of serving your Majesty : but they name nobody, nor can I guess who the persons are.

The methods to be taken with that Court, if the King go into England as I hope he shall, are the nicest things I see in the whole matter ; but these your Majesties will concert yourselves, and adjust so as that it may not be in the power of whispers and stories to alienate any part of the affection so necessary for your mutual interest.

It is impossible to imagine the falsehoods spread abroad by the Allies-Ministers here, who go through the town offering great wagers that the French had greater losses at Fleury than the Allies, and that their fleet is totally defeated. But to us who are sure of the contrary, it is some joy to see the mean shifts they are put to. Would to God we were as sure of the

Usurper's death, and of the Victory in Ireland, of which with the utmost impatience we expect the confirmation from Ireland, for from Versailles it seems to come directly enough hither.

I have only the Letters of the 17th July, so that I want those of the 10th. of that month, and those of the 24th. and that, notwithstanding others have got Letters of that date which brought the News of the total defeat in Ireland of the King's forces, and his flight, which had broken my heart if that of the death of Orange had not come before.

Your Majesty's goodness has allowed me to write so long Letters, and therefore I hope you will pardon them and all the impertinencies they contain, which, however, are meant with the greatest sincerity and most unalterable concern that it is possible for any man to have for any earthly thing.

May God Almighty bless your Majesties and the Prince, and may you be soon happy and in possession of your own, that God may be glorified in the miraculous work, and your faithful servants happy in the thoughts that your Majesties are so. Amongst these there is none more unalterably, more humbly so, than,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most humble, most faithful,
and most obedient subject and servant,

MELFORT.

My Lady Melfort presents her most humble duty to your Majesty.

LETTER CCCLXXXVI.

*The Earl of Melfort to the Queen, from Rome; still
in suspense..*

[MS. LANSD. MUS. BRIT. 1163. vol. ii. fol. 251.]

19th. Aug. 1690.

May it please your Majesty,

NEVER was any body so tossed with contrary passions as I have been since the time I heard of his Majesty's arrival into France, for then we had the fear that all was lost in Ireland. Immediately after we had an excess of joy, to hear that Orange and Schomberg were killed, and their troops beaten again. The rage to be triumphed over by the Spaniards, who affirm the Prince of Orange alive, Ireland his, and he returned in glory to London, with all the circumstances of the King's defeat, Orange's entry to Dublin, &c. And in all this time we have not one scrape of a pen to free us of all these pains we suffer, nor the hopes of any, since I have none to that I sent by Venice, which, I am informed, was delivered into your Majesty's hands. But at all this I wonder not. I well consider the condition your Majesty is in, and from my heart I compassionate all you have suffered, but indeed somebody about your Majesty might have followed the way I shew them,

since they would not think how to find one to send safely to us here what it is most necessary for your Majesty's affairs that we know; for as soon as the truth of these things comes, the Pope will declare his last pleasure in what I have to propose to him, and I am hopeful it will be somewhat more conform to the necessity of the King's affairs than what has yet been done.

I hope your Majesty has got the last bill of 10,000 Roman Crowns I sent, and will still believe that all that is possible for me to do shall be done, and that since I am so unhappy as to be out of any capacity of assisting the King at this time, I shall pray for him that God Almighty may do it, and re-establish your royal family in peace, and give addition to your happiness for the patience with which you have suffered.

I have nothing to trouble the King with, not knowing where he is, and knowing that your Majesty fully informs him of all, especially of that zeal with which he is and shall ever be served by, may it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most humble,
most faithful, most obedient servant,

MELFORT.

LETTER CCCLXXXVII.

*The Earl of Melfort to King James the Second from
Rome.*

[MS. LANSD. 1163. vol. iii. fol. 14.]

5th. Sept. 1690.

May it please your Majesty,

YOUR Majesty's Letter of the 30th. of July from St. Germain's I had not till Wednesday last, being the 30th. of August. I most humbly thank your Majesty for your goodness to me and mine. My services are due by many indispensable obligations, and I shall still endeavour by zeal to show the greatness of that most humble affection I have to your royal person and interest.

So soon as I had received the honour of your Letter and the other for his Holiness I demanded audience, but Thursday being appointed for singing the *Te Deum* for the taking of Napoli de Malvoisie, which the Pope was to perform in person at Sta. Maria Major, I was put off till Friday at night.

On Friday's night being admitted to audience of his Holiness, I delivered him your Majesty's Letter, which he received most kindly, asking if your Majesty, the

Queen, and Prince were well. He said, ‘O how much do I compassionate their condition :’ and having opened the Letter, he gave it to me to read for him, which ended, he said he would answer it, and approve of all your Majesty had done; but that he saw it was left to me to enlarge on what it contained.

I told him that the first thing I had order to inform him of, was, the reason why your Majesty had quitted Ireland, which was the united request of all the General Officers of your Army, who wisely considered that in your royal person consisted all their present hopes; and that though Ireland might be lost the sooner, yet your Majesty would be more in a condition to act for the whole, being in France, where it was necessary to concert the whole matter; that they well considered that none could have so much interest with the Most Christian King to procure them succours, or, by attacking England, draw the forces which oppressed them another way. That these considerations had prevailed with your Majesty, and I hoped his Holiness would approve of what your Majesty had done.

He said that it was perfectly well, for that your Majesty being safe your re-establishment was certain; and that he approved extremely of your having come away, and would write so much to your Majesty himself.

I told his Holiness that now your Majesty was come to France to demand succours from that King, the next thing I had commanded me was to beg of his

Holiness what assistance it was possible for his Holiness to give. That the enterprize was great, and that though France should do all they could, yet that all would not be near what was sufficient, and that therefore his Holiness of necessity must see this most just cause perish, to the reproach of all the Catholics who did not assist or help to support it. That there never was a time in which the Holy See had so much honour to gain or lose, and that the Eyes of all Europe was upon his Holiness to see if he would tamely suffer a Catholic Kingdom to fall into the hands of Heretics, unconcerned to see so many hundreds of thousands of Catholics under the grievousest persecution, and greatest temptation to lose their Religion. That by a timely and suitable assistance his Holiness might have had the glory in his Pontificate to have advanced the Catholic Religion in England and Scotland, where it was not; and as that would have been much to his honour, I was assured he would never give occasion to the contrary by suffering a Catholic Kingdom to be dismembered from the Church in his time, without giving all the assistance he could to such as were endeavouring its defence. That a timely supply might do much, and I was not sure but 12 or 15,000 stand of Arms might have prevented these mischiefs if sent in time, since your Majesty wanted not Men but Arms to have out-numbered your enemies. That that was neglected, but that for the future I hoped his Holiness would

turn his thoughts more intently on a thing in which he and the Church of God were so much concerned.

His Holiness repeated all his former compliments of what he would do and suffer for your Majesty, but that he could not act against all the world, and he had not wherewithal to do as he would. That all the world was in war. That war was come into Italy. That there was scarcity at Rome. That the rents of the Ecclesiastic State were not paid. That he was in thousands of straits and difficulties. That the little he had given was borrowed: he had in it given his Entrails, so difficult is it now to find money.

I thanked his Holiness for what he had done, it was a mark of his sense of what he was obliged to do, and at the same time one infallible proof of his Poverty being so very disproportioned to what it was designed for, that I did not insist for what was properly his Holiness's, but that some other fund might be employed in so good, so pious, so necessary a work. That there were many sums employed for pious ends whereof his Holiness might dispose by changing the intention: and that there were many other ways of raising money if he had a mind: and that the assisting your Majesty was a hundred times a more pious work than building of Churches, especially where there are already too many: that by this speedy assistance he would not only do a work glorious for him, but absolutely neces-

sary for his honour, and for the reputation if not safety of the Holy See.

He considered a little without saying any thing ; he then asked if Orange was dead. I told him it was not yet certain ; and he saw Letters from all parts bore contradictions, some say he was, others he was not.

‘ It is doubtful,’ said he, ‘ but however, I am fixed ‘ in myself that England will throw off that Monster, ‘ and call back their own King. I pray for it every ‘ day, and would give my life to procure it.’ He said he had thought of your Majesty’s concerns and how to help you, that he would consider of it, and all that ever he could he would do ; that, in the mean time, he would answer your Majesty’s Letter.

I humbly thanked him for the hopes he gave me, that I should inform your Majesties of his good intentions, and begged of him to consider how the season was advanced, and how precious time is to us. And whilst he considered how to help, I begged of him to reflect on the Triumph of the Heresy in Ireland, the altars overthrown, Churches profaned, Catholics persecuted, the sacrileges committed on the persons of the religious, priests, and bishops ; and I persuaded myself this view would quickly determine his Holiness to do something of importance. He repeated to me what he had said before ; that he would think, that he

would consider, and do all that he could in the world for your Majesty's assistance.

This repetition was a sign that he intended to finish this audience; and so I shewed my desire to be licentiated, which his Holiness perceiving, began to inform me of Napoli di Malvoisie, what importance it was of to the Venetians, &c. I congratulated his Holiness on that Conquest as a christian and a catholic, and as a servant to your Majesty with whom the Venetians had preserved their Alliances: and this I did to show his Holiness the difference of the spirit which actuates us, and that of the House of Austria. We were glad that Christianity gained, though from those that fought against our enemies: whilst they sung the *Te Deum* for the Church's having lost a Kingdom, and a Heretic's Victory. But I hoped that God, in his good time, would put a stop to these Impieties. His Holiness asked me if it was possible that any Cathedral had sung the *Te Deum* for Orange's Victory; I told him that I had their own printed News for it, at which his Holiness seemed horribly scandalized.

Thus ended this Audience; by which your Majesty will see how far the warmth which appeared at the News of the Usurper's death is cooled now they think he is alive. And the truth of the matter is, they have but little mind to do any thing if they could handsomely shun it. And if any thing considerable be done, it will be when your Majesty has almost certainty

on your side, for they would help up the last steps, and care not for being at the expenses till they can say this helped immediately to set him on his Throne.

At a distance it is impossible to judge, and I have that to say I dare not commit to cypher; but, in general, there is no hope of any thing considerable till your Majesty be just going for England, which I assert boldly you are; but the French posts coming only once in fifteen days, they always wait for confirmations, and so I am delayed.

We are now in more uncertainty than ever, not knowing if Orange be dead or living, where the French fleet is, nor what may be their design; nor are we less ignorant of what is doing in England and Scotland, whether any of their designs so much talked of be like to take effect, or if those inclinations believed to be in the people still continue. So that, as to that point, we are just as miserable as it is possible for us to be: God Almighty send us the comfort of some good news for your Majesty, and then we, like seasick travellers, soon forget our pains.

I wish it were possible to get the remains of your Majesty's army, or a considerable part of them, brought from Ireland to England, so long as the French are masters of the Sea, and might hinder the rebel army from returning to England: for I am confident never nothing will turn the tide in England, but carrying the war thither. The fear of having a war within the

Kingdom having infallibly been what made the defection of the people so universal as it was : but I hope all this comes too late, and therefore I shall not insist on it.

As for myself, I entirely depend upon your Majesty to be employed as you shall think best for your royal service, as I have ever done, and having laid before your Majesty my humble thoughts I am secured on the side of conscience, and I know your Majesty's generosity, and if I may add justice, will have care of my reputation. Which, with all else I am master of, shall ever be employed to prove that I am, more than I can tell,

May it please your Majesty,
Your Majesty's most humble, most faithful,
and most obedient servant,

MELFORT.

LETTER CCCLXXXVIII.

The Earl of Melfort to Mr. Innes: introduces an Irish priest of the name of Richard Molony.

[MS. LANSD. 1163. vol. iii. p. 49.]

* * In a Letter to the Queen of the 11th Nov. Lord Melfort calls this person "Bishop Molony." He had written a Letter to Lord Melfort in which "the story of Ireland was set down."

13th. Sept. 1690.

SIR,

THE Bearer hereof Richard Molony is an Irish Priest who has passed his studies at Rome, and returns now to the mission in Ireland. He is desirous to kiss the King and Queen's hands: so he being a very honest man, I intreat you to procure him that satisfaction or any other service that lies in your way, and what you do for him I will look upon as a favour done to

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

MELFORT.

A pass was given with this Letter to the aforesaid Molony, and another to James, who went along with him. There was a pass likewise given the same day to three English Gentlemen that went to Naples.

IN a Letter to the King of the 28th Oct. Lord Melfort details the particulars of another Interview with the Pope:

“Yesterday was the soonest that I could deliver your Majesty's Letters to his Holiness, who received them with all the demonstrations of real affection it is possible to express. He cried so that I had extreme compassion to see him; he told me that his heart shed tears of blood to think of your condition, and that night and day he thought how to assist you; that there was nothing in his power he would not do; that his condition was to be lamented; he saw Europe in distress, the Church in danger, your Majesty in want, Italy threatened, himself not secure, and the Emperor in circumstances with him as not to permit him to be useful for remedying of the ills; that he had made propositions of peace; that the Most Christian King had answered favourably, that Spain had answered that it was not now the time to think of peace, that the Emperor

had not answered and so he found would not hear of peace; that all of them asked assistance who had war with the Turks, who were coming a second time into Hungary, and he knew not to what hand to turn him."

The Audience being ended Lord Melfort went to the Cardinal Rubini, after the conference with whom he says, "I found out two objections, that the Turks' affairs pressed harder than the danger of the heretics; the second that what they could give the Emperor might signify, but what they can give your Majesty will not signify to the regaining of your Majesty's Kingdoms."

Lord Melfort's anxiety to return was now great; after giving his reasons for demanding it of the King, he adds, "Indeed there is another thing I thought not to have ever mentioned, and that is my allowance, of which I have seen nothing in six months; for three of which I drew bills, but since that time I have neither credit nor money, nor will any advance me one farthing; and all this befalls me after I was informed the matter was adjusted. Hitherto I have had difficulties, but now I will swear I know not well what course to take." MS. Lansd. 1163. vol. iii. pp. 168, 169.

LETTER CCCLXXXIX.

Mr. Theophilus Harrison to the Rev. John Strype.

[MS. COLE, MUS. BRIT. vol. lii. p. 392.]

Dublin, Aug. 23, 1690.

DEAR SIR,

AFTER some few days' stay at Liverpool for a wind, blessed be God, I had a good and quick passage. Mr. Bonnell tells me he acquainted you with the transactions of King James's Government here, and how severely the poor Protestants were handled: their Churches,

contrary to the royal word, seized and prophaned by idolatrous worship. The calamities under which they groaned were so great, that they cannot be conceived by any but those who were actual sufferers, or who beheld the cruel executioners perform their barbarous parts. All men are convinced that they ought to return solemn thanks to Heaven for sending a Conqueror who gives new life to their drooping spirits, and cheerfully submit to that Providence which has eased them from a burden under which it was impossible for them, in human probability, to have much longer subsisted; they themselves, as well as their substance, being almost consumed, and without miracles must necessarily next winter be famished. A Jacobite is a monster here, and passive obedience an absurdity. The usage of Protestants here, they say, was sufficient to convince the most fierce Jacobite, had he been in the same unhappy circumstances.

As to the present posture of affairs, Limerick is closely besieged, the out-works taken, and all the men in them put to the sword, though they cried for quarter. The occasion of this severity was Sarsfield's cruelty, who two days before surprised our guns, within seven miles of the Camp, and killed all the waggoners together with their wives and innocent babes: so that when the Irish cried quarter, answer was made they should have the same quarter the waggoners had. The guns were re-taken, and though damaged, in good

order again. It is reported, that Limerick has offered to parley.

It is certain Tyrconnel and Berwick have left Limerick: so have the French, who are marched towards Galway, being a more convenient harbour for their return homeward: but the Garrison of Galway has denied them admittance: so that they lie encamped between Limerick and Galway. It is said, that His Majesty has promised the soldiers the plunder of Limerick, which is thought to be very considerable, which animates the Army to a very great degree.

You heard, I suppose, that Douglas's men were drawn off from Athlone, at which several that ran away, at the rout of the Boyne, rallied, and made a body of about 3000 in the County of Westmeath, in which part of Athlone stands. They plundered all Protestants; burnt their houses, and forced them to fly to these parts for shelter: upon which Col. Woseley, with his Enniskilling men, who are really very formidable, was sent into the Country. About sixty of his men, not staying for the rest, set upon five hundred, killed about fifty, and took several prisoners, with the loss of three men only. They are now encamped at Mullingar, the County Town, and so keep the Country in some order.

I preached last Sunday in my own Church, where I found about thirty of my scattered flock; my Church miserably defaced; the seats were employed to wains-

cot a room for the Priest; but no Priest appeared, nor any of the considerable Popish inhabitants. Some with King James's army, some abscond, and Protestants not yet returned to their houses, which were all possessed by the Irish: so that the Country looks somewhat desolate. My pulpit cushion was dragooned; the velvet made into a pair of breeches; but chalice, &c. preserved.

There is no want of corn in the Country, nor of other provisions, but how it will be in winter God knows; for most are willing to part with what provisions they have at an easy rate, for fear of the Army on the one hand, and of the fugitive Irish, or Rapperies, who steal in the night on the other.

It was my good fortune to leave a faithful servant behind me, who had lived with me above eleven years: his friends are all Papists: he an Irishman, but bred up in the Protestant Religion, to which and his Master, he had been stedfast. Notwithstanding very strict search, he has preserved most of my goods: he was forced to sacrifice some few things, to save the rest: bedsteads and chairs were my greatest loss. I found surplice and hood, and two good gowns and cassocks, as I left them. I did not know when I landed whether this servant was alive; but next day he came to me, and brought me two horses, which, in the rout, he took from men that owed me old debts, and picked up £5 in money, lest I should want at my landing: he

settled my tithes also before I came as well as he could : but what was set for £300 formerly, scarce amounts to £150 now. But blessed be God it is as it is. As to my Deanry lying near Athlone, I must expect no profit from thence this year.

And now I beg you to present my service to all my good friends in Low Layton, particularly the good family at Ruckholts. My thanks to Mr. Houblon for his Letter, as much as if I had occasion to make use of it ; for his correspondent was ready to do me any kindness. I will not forget my promise to Mr. Hill, &c. I am sincerely, dear Sir,

Your affectionate Brother, and humble servant,

THEO. HARRISON.

I am informed it was not Sarsfield that took the carriages ; but whoever it was, he burnt them, and threw the women and children alive into the fire ; one of the waggons excepted, in which was the Treasure to pay the Army, but that was re-taken.

To Mr. Strype, to be left at Mr. John Hill's, Stationer in Change Alley, opposite the Royal Exchange.

LETTER CCCXC.

*King William the Third to
His discontent with the Parliament. Changes pro-
posed for Ireland.*

[MS. DONAT. 4748. fol. 15. Orig.]

* * The Donation Manuscript in the Museum, No. 4748, contains Nine original Letters of King William the Third, between Oct. 18th, 1697, and Aug. 15th, 1700, entirely in his Majesty's hand-writing. They have no address, but seem to have been written to Baron Ginkle, afterwards Earl of Athlone.

The Letter here given is one of them ; and is presented as a specimen of King William's French style. In the opening of it the King appears to allude to the Resolution of the House of Commons April 9th, 1700, " that an Address be made to his Majesty that no person who was not a native of his Dominions, except the Prince of Denmark, be admitted to his Majesty's Councils in England or Ireland," to prevent the presenting of which, the King went to the House on the 11th of April and prorogued the Parliament to the 23d of May.

A Hampton-court ce ii^e. de May 1700.

IL y a bien long temps que je ne vous ay point escrit, la raison est qu'estant tousjours incertain de l'issue de la derniere Session du Parlement ; je n'ay voulu vous repondre a auqu'une de vos Lettres, vous pouver juge le chagrin que m'a cause toutte leur Pro-cedures extraordinaires, et je vous assure que ce n'a pas este une des moindres de vous voir prive de ce que je vous avois donne avec tant de plaisir. J'espere

pourtant que je ne seres pas hors d'estat de recognoistre les bons services que vous m'aves randu, et j'en chercheres les occasions avec empressement surquoy vous pouveres faire fons, c vous doit estre bien de la satisfaction dans le juste resentment que vous devez avoir de ce qui vous regarde que personne n'a peu trouver a redire a vostre conduite, au contraire tous en ont paru satisfait, et le Vote qui a passe le dernier jour en furie ne vous regarde qu' indirectement, et je vous puis asseure, que vous n'en aves este auqu' une-ment l'occasion, il y a eu tant d'intrigues dans cette derniere Session que sans avoir este sur les Lieus, et bien instruit de tout l'on n'y peut rien comprendre. Il me sera impossible de continuer la Commission de L^{ds}. Justices en Irlande comme elle est presentement, ainsi j'ay resolu d'y envoyer le Duc de Shrewsburi comme Vice Roy, et que vous commandies l'Armee sous luy. Ne croies pas que cela vous sera une degradation, personne ne le comprendra icy comme cela, et je scai que tout le monde le souhaite, et le croient absolument necessaire pour mon service. J'en suis entierement convaincu, ainsi J'espere que vous ne voulderes pas me refuse d'accepter ce commandement, n'y ne pas abandonner mon service. Je vous assure que je n'en ay jamais eu plus de besoin qu'a present, des gens de vostre capacite et fidelite. J'espere que je trouveres des occasions a vous donner des marques de mon estime et amitie, et je ne voulderes pas vous engage

en cecy si jé n'estois asseure qu'auqu'un mal ne pourra vous en arriver, mais je scai que cela aura une approbation generale, et je ne doute pas que vos amis ne vous en informeront de mesme, et je suis bien aise de vous dire que vous en aves beaucoup et parmi toutes partis.

WILLIAM R.

THE Reader is, no doubt, aware that the preceding Letter affords no solitary instance of King William's discontent with his Parliament. There is a stronger one, however, preserved, which the Editor cannot persuade himself to leave unchronicled here.

In the month of December 1698, when the Commons were so irritated at the King's presuming to maintain a greater number of Troops than their predecessors had voted, such was his Majesty's indignation that he threatened to abandon the Government. *The SPEECH which he penned and intended to have delivered upon that occasion, is still remaining in the KING'S OWN HAND among the Manuscripts in the BRITISH MUSEUM.* We are not told by whom he was influenced to withhold it.

The Countess of Suffolk, lady of the bedchamber to Queen Caroline, told the late Dr. Morton that She communicated this original Draft to the Queen, who chose to keep it, returning her only a Copy. After the Queen's death it came into the possession of the Princess Amelia, who gave it to Lord Berkeley of Stratton for the Museum.

“ M^l. a Ge.

“ Je suis venu icy dans ce Royaume au desir de cette Nation pour la sauver de ruine, et pour preserver vostre Religion vostre Lois et Libertes, et pour ce sujet j'ay este oblige de soutenir une longue et tres onereuse geurre pour ce Royaume, laquelle par la grace de Dieu et la bravoure de cette Nation est a present terminée par une bonne Paix ; dans laquelle vous pouries vivre heureusement, et en repos, si vous voulies contribuer a vostre propre seurete, ainsi que je vous l'avois recommande a l'ouverture de cette Session ; mais voyent au contraire, que vous aves si peu de guard a mes advis, et que vous ne prenez aucun si peu ^a de soin de vostre seurete, et vous exposes a une ruine evidente, vous destituant des sules et uniques moiens que pouroit servir des moiens necessaire pour ^b vostre defense. Il ne seroit pas juste ou raisonnable que jc fusse temoin [de]

^a aucun.

^b a.

vostre perte, ne pouvant rien faire de mon coste, pour l'eviter [sans vous pouvoir defendre et proteger]^a ce que a este la seule veu que j'ai eu en venant en ce Paiis ; ainsi je dois vous requerir de choisir et me nommer telles personnes, que vous jugeres capable auxquels je puisse laissé [l'administration du]^b gouvernement en mon absence, vous assurant que quoyque je suis obligé^c a present de *me retirer* HORS DU ROYAUME. Je concerveres toujours la mesmes inclination pour son advantage et prosperité ; et que quandt je pources juger que ma presence y seroit necessaire pour vostre defense, et que je jugeres le pouvoir entreprendre aux succes, vous vous me feres en estat que je seres dont porté a y revenir et hasarde ma vie pour vostre seurete, comme je l'ay fait par le passé : priant le bon Dieu de benir vos deliberations, et de vous inspirer ce que est neccsaire pour le bien et la seurete du Royaume."

The words placed in the lower part of this and the preceding page with letters of reference, are King William's marginal Alterations.

LETTER CCCXCI.

Charles Lyttelton to his father Sir Charles Lyttelton upon the conduct of Louis the XIVth. after the death of King James the Second.

[FROM THE *Orig.* IN THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.]

* * The countenance given by Louis the Fourteenth to the son of James the Second, both before and after his father's death, was the cause not only of sarcasm, but of the circulation of scandalous anecdote. "*The Great Bastard Protector of the Little One*" was the title of an English Tract, affected to have been printed at Cologne in 1689, and reprinted in 1701, near the time of the Interview mentioned in the present Letter. The English thought they could not better requite a sympathy which did Louis the Fourteenth more honor than his greatest Victories.

The question of the legitimacy of the birth of King James's son is now laid at rest. King William himself did not venture to go into it.

^a Estant hors d'estat de vous defendre et proteger.
^c forcé.

^b administre le.

King James in his Memoirs, ^a says, that Count Bentinck “being asked why his Master made not appear the illegitimacy of the Prince of Wales, as he had promised? he answered, that they neither questioned his legitimacy, nor were concerned about it, for that his Master being now in possession of the Throne, was resolved to keep it while he lived, and cared not who it went to when he was gone.”

Paris, Sept. 27th. 1701, N. S.

WE received yesterday my dear Father's of the 6th. instant, and are glad to find you are all pretty well at Hagley, and no occasion to try the Bath waters, where I hear there is a mighty swarm of people.

* * * * *

I should be glad to stay at Paris as long as you think fit, both to mend my French and my Dancing, which I think I can do better here than in another place, as also to see a little more of the French world.

I should be extremely glad to see Flanders and Holland before I come home; not but that I long mightily to see my dear friends at Hagley, but because I believe we may go now without any trouble as to the war. There be no likelihood of any, this season being so far advanced, but it is thought the next spring there will be some bustle in Flanders, some people not being pleased with the King of France's owning our young King, and treating him with all the respect and kindness imaginable. The moment King James was dead, the Prince of Conti went and complimented the Prince as King, as did all the rest of the Court at St. Ger-

mains. On the 20th. the King of France went to St. Germain, after it had been hotly disputed in the Council whether he should or no: all the Princes of the blood were hotly for it, but some of the politicians were against it: but it was carried by a great majority of voices. When the King of France came to St. Germain, the King met him at the top of the stairs, and after they had embraced one another gave him the right hand, and conducted him into the room where the Queen^a laid upon the bed to receive him. After the ceremonies finished the King conducted him back to the top of the stairs, always giving him the right hand.

The next day the young King went to Versailles to return the King of France's visit, who treated him with the same ceremony and respect that he was used to treat his father, but with a great deal more tenderness, as considering he is very young. When he met him atop of the stairs, he took him in his arms and embraced him with as much kindness and tenderness as if he had been his own son. He conducted him into a room where there were two armed-chairs for the two Kings: the King of France always gave him the right hand: when the visit was ended, the King of France conducted him back to the top of the stairs. They have given him the same guards that the late King had.

^a Mary of Este. ED.

The late King desired the young one in his Will that he would continue all his Servants as they were, and take care of all his faithful subjects that had suffered with him, especially the Protestants, and that whenever it should please God to restore him to his Throne, he advised him to govern his people without any regard to their being Papists or Protestants, and that he should by no means endeavour to alter the Religion established, but to govern according to the laws and customs of his country, without which he was sure no King of England could ever be happy, but withall charged him to be a true Son of the Church, and not to change upon any account whatsoever, quoting some Scripture sayings, as “ what signified it to gain the whole world and lose his own Soul,” and some more to the same purpose.

He declared some new Honours. My Lord Perth is made Duke: Lord Middleton, Earl of Monmouth: Mr. Carrol, Lord Carrol.

The King's body is here at the English Benedictines in deposit, there to be kept, as they say, till they can have an opportunity to send him to Westminster to be buried. The Queen is at a Convent called Shalio, within a league of Paris.

* * * * *

I beg your and mother's blessing.

I am your dutiful and obedient son

C. LYTTLETON.

LETTERS

OF

THE REIGN OF

QUEEN ANNE.

ALTHOUGH the Letters of the Reign of Anne which the Editor has here produced are far from numerous, some amongst them will be found which have intrinsic interest. Two from the Duke of Queensberry to the Queen at the opening of the Scotch Plot, Dr. D'Avenant's Letter to his Son after the News of the Victory of Blenheim had arrived in London, Lord Sunderland's three Letters, and the Correspondence with the Elector of Hanover, have strong claims upon the Reader's notice. The last consists of a few Specimens only out of a large Collection.

To the Eye of Posterity, the Reign of Anne will ever appear to be one of the most prosperous in the English Annals: as successful in Arts as in Arms. But to those who lived under it there were inconveniences. The Nation had been oppressed for the greater part of a century by successive struggles; and though it had settled the contested limits between the King and People, the Court and the Country were yet torn by jealousy and faction. A claimant to the Crown, out of the Succession which the Law had settled, stood as a rallying point for all who were discontented. The dissensions of her Ministers impaired the health of Anne, who may, without figure, be said to have sunk under her anxieties.

LETTER CCCXCII.

*Sir George Rooke to Prince George of Denmark :
after the taking of the Vigo Galleons by the English
Fleet Oct. 12th, 1702.*

[FROM THE *Orig.* FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF T. B.
RICHARDS, ESQ.]

* * The following is the character of Prince George of Denmark given in the Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq.

“ His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, husband to the Queen and Lord High Admiral of England, is brother to the late King of Denmark and uncle to the present. He was chosen by King Charles the Second to be husband to his niece the Princess Anne, because having no dominions of his own to gratify, he would have nothing else in view but the interest of England.

“ In the reign of King Charles the Second, having little English and being naturally modest, he made no considerable figure, nor in the reign of King James, till the increase of Popery alarming the whole Nation, he concurred with the rest of the Protestant Nobility for the bringing over the Prince of Orange, and, with his Princess, left the Court to join that party.

“ During all King William’s reign he never went into the Administration, yet came always to Parliament regularly, and often to Court, diverted himself with hunting; and never openly declared himself of any party.

“ On the Queen’s accession to the Throne he was made Lord High Admiral of England and Warden of the Cinque Ports.

“ He is a Prince of a familiar easy disposition with a good sound understanding, but modest in shewing it: a great lover of the Church of England the nearer it comes to Lutheranism: this he often shows by his vote in the House of Peers, otherwise he does not much meddle with affairs out of his office.

“ He is very fat, loves news, his bottle, and the Queen, by whom he has had many children, but none alive. He has neither many friends nor enemies in England. On the Queen’s accession to the Throne he was towards fifty years old.”

At a later period, as will hereafter be seen, Prince George of Denmark had enemies. The character of him here quoted is from the Harleian MS. 6760: not from the printed edition of Macky's Memoirs.

Royal Sovereign at Vigo, Oct. 16th, 1702.

SIR,

I THINK myself very happy in this opportunity of congratulating the Queen and your Royal Highness on the first action of her Majesty's Reign and your Administration in your Office of Lord High Admiral of England, which I hope will prove as glorious to her Majesty, and as advantageous to her Country and subjects as any thing that has been performed in the time of her's and your Royal Highness' predecessors. The action will tell its own story throughout the world, and therefore I shall not illustrate upon it. The inclosed Copy of my Letter to Sir Charles Hedges is as particular, as just, and as modest a relation as becomes me to give, who had the honour to be at the head of the service. I shall add no more to my most humble duty to her Majesty and your Royal Highness, but my prayers that God Almighty may preserve you long together and bless you with success in all your undertakings, which concludes me her Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subject, and, royal Sir,

Your Highness' most obedient, most
humble, and truly devoted servant,

G. ROOKE.

His Royal Highness the Prince.

LETTER CCCXCIII.

Lord Tarbat to Queen Anne. He tenders his Resignation as Secretary for Scotland.

[FROM THE *Orig.* IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LORD VISCOUNT STRANGFORD.]

May it please your Majesty,

THE matter of fact in what is past, since my last, I have put in my Lord Treasurer's hand; I dare not write my private judgment on what is passed as law; and there being an act passed last day, declaring it High Treason to quarrel, impugn, or endeavour to alter or innovate the claim of right, or any article thereof, I will not adventure to give judgment on it, now your Majesty's authority is recognised in the first act, and touched by the Royal Scepter, and so is law. The last is passed in Parliament but not as yet touched, nor the other act ratifying Presbyterial Government, but wait your Majesty's Commissioner to give them the touch. I have sent several other acts to my Lord Treasurer, offered, but not yet voted. We are (and I believe truly) informed that there are several such acts to come in.

It was the greatest honour that ever I did attain, to be chosen by your Majesty to be one of your Secre-

taries. It was an extraordinary satisfaction and happiness for me to wait on your Majesty's person. I ever accounted it my greatest duty to serve your Majesty, as I did your royal predecessors, with untainted fidelity and loyalty; and, as I wish, so I hope to die in that course, whatever be my station.

But with all possible fidelity and duty, be pleased graciously to allow me to represent to your Majesty that I am unfit on many accounts to serve your Majesty in this capacity of a Secretary, or in any public station. It were unpardonable indiscretion to trouble your Majesty with the particular reasons which bring me to this misfortune, since the circumstances wherein affairs are put, renders my service not only useless but perhaps hurtful to your Majesty. I assure your Majesty with all sincerity before God, that I am not relinquishing so honourable a post on any cause or occasion from what relates to your Majesty (allowing my unfitness to be one) nor does my age or infirmities, or any private motive make me thus to withdraw. This I do, unknown to any; nor will I divulge it until I have your Majesty's allowance, and then I beg and hope for your Royal protection and continuance of your gracious favour in the capacity of your private subject; though my age and some other obstructing impediments lie heavy on me, yet your Majesty's command shall bring me to give an account of this action, and of some other things to your Majesty if it be judged worth the while.

This with no great joy, but with a faithful heart, is
with all humble duty humbly offered by

Your Majesty's

Most humble, most faithful,
most obedient subject and
servant,

TARBAT.

8th. May, 1703.

LETTER CCCXCIV.

*The Duke of Queensberry to Queen Anne, upon the
debating of the Act of Security in the Parliament
of Scotland.*

[FROM THE *Orig.* IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LORD VISCOUNT
STRANGFORD.]

May it please your Majesty,

WE were in hopes of finishing the tedious Act of
Security, having added the clause that the successor
should be a Protestant and of the Royal line, when we
found several additions brought in to confound the
Act; one was calculated to catch the Bigots, that the
Successor should be of the Kirk of Scotland as by law
established; this was thrown out by a great plurality:
there was another clause offered on Friday by my
Lord Roxborough, that whoever was King or Queen

of England should never be King or Queen of Scotland, except upon such a multitude of limitations as rendered the matter impracticable, and these limitations to be enacted this very Session of Parliament. It was carried by a few to enter into the consideration of this clause.

Here I must regret to your Majesty that my Lord Privy Seal^a entered into both these clauses, though they are pretty opposite in themselves: and it is too plain that he generally joins in any motion that is brought in to break up this Parliament, without its coming to do those things which are necessary for your Majesty's service or securing the peace of the Kingdom. He seldom votes with your Majesty's other servants; and when that happens, he never brings any body along with him, so that either he really has not the influence he pretended, or is not sincere in employing it for your service, and yet when he goes contrary to us, having the second vote and being an officer of state, he either takes off others, or gives them a pretence to divide from us.

Your Majesty may remember that from the first meeting of your Parliament, I represented to your Majesty that the division among your servants was the greatest difficulty that I foresaw in your business, and if you are pleased to observe the accounts that your Majesty has received from time to time of the

^a The Marquess of Athol

proceedings of your Parliament, you will find that your servants succeeded in every thing wherein they were unanimous; and I am sure that if they will yet concur, and act a sincere and vigorous part, that we are very well able to bring this Parliament to a happy conclusion; but if it should break up in ill humour it would bring a suit of mischiefs and great animosities betwixt the two nations; and it is strange that some do concur in the humour of speaking against the influence that English Ministers are thought to have in Scots affairs, when at the same time they do value themselves and are considered by others as having a great share in your Majesty's favour by the means of these same Ministers against whom they encourage the clamour. I am bold to say, that if your Majesty will either make your servants of a piece, or let it be understood that whoever will differ and divide from the rest shall be under your Majesty's displeasure, that we shall yet be able to bring matters to a right settlement.

For my own part I am ready and resolved to venture my life and fortune in your Majesty's service against all that shall presume to oppose you, and as I have used your Majesty's authority with faithfulness, so I have avoided all height and ostentation in the honour I have to represent your sacred person; yet there was a great noise made on Friday because I adjourned the House at eight o'clock at night, after most part of the members were gone out or wearied, so that many had intreated I might adjourn that meeting, the matter

being of the last consequence, and not ripe for any vote. There is a memorial of this matter sent to Mr. Nairne to be laid before your Majesty, with the opinion of your servants, that it is your Majesty's undoubted prerogative to adjourn, which is done by your Commissioner every day, and that I have not exceeded the ordinary course, nor transgressed any law, and that there is no occasion for any clamour, but only a fixed resolution to break up this Parliament, in which too many concur; but that being a matter of so ill consequence, it shall be struggled against with all the patience and application in the power of,

Madam,

Your Majesty's most dutiful,
most humble, and most obedient
subject and servant,

QUEENSBERRY.

Holyrood-House,
July the 18th. 1703.

LETTER CCCXCV.

The Duke of Queensberry to Queen Anne; again upon the Act of Security. A Plot to overturn the Government discovered.

[FROM THE *Orig. DRAFT* INDORSED IN THE DUKE'S HAND-WRITING,
"Copy of my Letter to the Qⁿ August 11th. 1703."]

. This and the succeeding Letter from the Duke of Queensberry to Queen Anne, occasioned no slight commotion in England. The Reader

who would acquaint himself with the general particulars of the Plot which the Duke discovered to the Queen, may consult Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time,^a Boyer's Life of Queen Anne,^b Smollet's History,^c and the Journals of the House of Lords;^d where as much as was suffered to be known of its detection may be found.

The gentleman of "quality and integrity" mentioned by the Duke of Queensberry, by whom the Secret was disclosed, was Simon Fraser Lord Lovat, a man of desperate enterprize and abandoned morals, who, it is but right to say, had been outlawed for having ravished the Marquess of Athol's sister, and who at last expiated this and all his crimes upon the scaffold in 1747.

That there were two sides to the Story is certain. Ferguson, an experienced plotter, who had been known in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, asserted that the only secret design which existed at this time among the Jacobites was to make the Queen receive such terms as Henry the Second had agreed upon with Stephen, to reign during her life, and then to be succeeded by her brother. The rest, he said, was framed by the Duke of Queensberry, to decoy some of the Scottish Lords, who would not go every length which he went, into guilt. Burnet, to a certain extent, corroborates this by his own testimony, as far as the Marquess of Athol is concerned. He says, "When I heard this, I could not but remember what the Duke of Athol had said to myself, soon after the Queen's coming to the Crown: I said, I hoped none in Scotland thought of the Prince of Wales: he answered, he knew none that thought of him as long as the Queen lived: I replied, that if any thought of him after that, I was sure the Queen would live no longer than till they thought their designs for him were well laid: but he seemed to have no apprehensions of that. I presently told the Queen of this, without naming the person, and she answered me very quick, there was no manner of doubt of that: but though I could not but reflect often on that discourse, yet since it was said to me in confidence, I never spoke of it to any one person during all the Inquiry that was now on foot: but I think it too material not to set it down here."

Burnet says, the Letter which the Duke of Queensberry sent, with the seal unbroken, to the Queen, in the hand of the Queen Dowager, was written in such general terms, that it might have been directed to any of the great nobility; and probably he who was trusted with it, had power given him to direct it to any to whom he found it would be most accepta-

^a Edit. Oxf. 1823. vol. v. pp. 95, 128.

^b Hist. of the Reign of Qu. Anne digested into Annals, Year the Second. 8°. 1704. p. 244.

^c Edit. 12°. 1794. vol. ii. p. 213.

^d Journals of the House of Lords, vol. vii.

ble: for there was nothing in the Letter that was particular to any one person or family; it only mentioned the promises and assurances sent to her by that Lord. It was directed on the back by another hand, supposed Fraser's, to L. M. The Duke of Queensberry's Letter is dated August 11th. 1703. Lord Murray had succeeded his father as Marquess of Athol on the 7th. of May preceding: and on the 30th. of July he had been advanced to the dignity of Duke of Athol.

This Plot, added to general clamour, for a short time deprived the Duke of Queensberry of all his Offices except that of Lord of Session.

May it please your Majesty,

I HAVE sent full accounts to Mr. Nairne of the proceedings of your Parliament, to lay before your Majesty, and am very sorry that I am never able to give your Majesty better news from it.

It is very uneasy to me, and cannot be pleasant to your Majesty, that I always complain of your own servants, and especially my Lord Privy Seal, who leaves me, and concurs in almost all the humorous votes which tend to jealousies and division betwixt your two Kingdoms. We have had two votes lately, in which I presume your Majesty would have expected that I should have had the concurrence of those whom you are pleased to trust in your service. The first was, whether the Officers of State should be left out of that Parliament, or meeting of Estates, which (long be it hence) should name the successor; and though it was fully and well argued, that they were essential Members of the Parliament, yet I could not prevail with my Lord

Privy Seal to vote for us: and next, this day a clause was brought in, ordaining the Kingdom to buy arms, and that the whole fencible men should be trained and exercised in arms, and the reason for this was very fairly given, that because what was done would certainly offend England; and therefore that this Kingdom ought to be put into a posture of defence. It was as fairly argued by us, that to give an order or law for arming was both unseasonable, and undutiful to do any such thing during your Majesty's reign, which might embroil business with England, and encourage the common enemy abroad; yet in this I could not prevail with my Lord Privy Seal to give us his vote; and some others of your Majesty's servants made a very cold appearance; and it is hard that, though the plurality of the Parliament are very well inclined to your Majesty's service, yet by the fault of ourselves (for I dare presume to say no worse) we are almost outdone in every thing. Yet I still hope, in what concerns your Majesty, your servants will not encourage any encroachments to be made upon your prerogative; and that they will concur to obtain the less at last; but for the invasions that are to be made upon the Successor, though I have struggled all I can in every point, yet these will be crowded into this Act of Security, which was brought in by my Lord Privy Seal against my will, which I think will now be finished in a day or two. I shall send it to your Majesty, that you may

consider whether you will allow it to be touched, though I am afraid that I shall not be able to hinder them to tack it to the Supply Act.

I presumed lately to acquaint your Majesty that I had seen some letters from a Gentleman come from France, in which he spoke with some assurance of overturning the Government here. Since that time, those who received the letters asked liberty from me to meet with that Gentleman, that they might try if they could learn any thing that might be useful to your Majesty's service, which I yielded to, and one of them had a long conference with him, of which I have given your Majesty an account in a memorial herewith transmitted, and I beg of your Majesty, that it may be kept as secret, and made known to as few, as may be. I am not yet allowed to name the persons, but if your Majesty commands me I must obey.

God knows whether the story be true or false, but my author is a man of that quality and integrity that I dare assure your Majesty there is neither mistake nor trick on his part ; and this I must say further, that there are several points related in the Memorial, that are otherwise confirmed, for I have seen a letter to Brigadier Maitland from one of his officers, wherein he tells him that he had intelligence of a Highland hunting, where six hundred of the best of the Laird of Grant's men were to be in arms, and the Duke of Hamilton, and the Marquis of Athol were to be there ;

this letter I have sent to Mr. Nairne. Major General Buchan acknowledges that one Mackenzie was put into the Bastile before he came away, besides the total desertion of all the cavaliers, except my Lords Balcarras, Wigton, and Dunmore, at that instant when these last orders came from France, and their joining in all things contrary to the prerogative of the Crown, with the vote this day of arming of the Country, do mightily instruct this declaration ; and it agrees pretty well with the advertisement Mr. Stanhope had about money to be sent hither ; but whatever is in the matter, I thought it my duty to represent it to your Majesty.

I must beg leave to know from your Majesty, if that person shall apply to me, and be willing to own what he has said, how I shall use him. It is strange enough that in his circumstances he should have said so much, and it can hardly be expected that he will forfeit what he may expect from France, without getting some terms from your Majesty.

I apprehended, at first, that any opposition I met with here, was no further intended than to force themselves into places, and though I value the honour of being in your Majesty's favour and service at the highest rate, yet when I considered that the consequences would only be as to me, and that it would be of less importance to your Majesty, who served you, I had far more ease in my mind. But now that I have too great ground to apprehend this opposition is sup-

ported in order to attack or shake your Majesty's Government, I shall be ready to expose my life and fortune in your service, and though I may not be successful in the trust with which your Majesty has honoured me here, yet I dare say, that I shall be found faithful, and that the failure has not been on my part, but for the want of assistance from your Majesty's other servants; and at the worst I hope nothing shall be carried that concerns your Majesty immediately; and a supply for some years may put your Majesty in condition to retrieve what was not to be hindered by,

Madam,

Your Majesty's most dutiful, most humble,
and most obedient subject and servant.

Holyrood House,

August the 11th. 1703.

LETTER CCCXCVI.

*The Duke of Queensberry to the Queen, upon the
Rising of the Parliament. Again upon the sup-
posed Plot.*

[FROM THE DRAFT INDORSED IN THE DUKE'S HAND-WRITING,
"Copy of my Letter to the Qⁿ Sep^r. the 25th. 1703."]

May it please your Majesty,
I STAY here some days, that I may receive any

orders your Majesty may be pleased to give, after the rising of the Parliament is known, which I expect may be on Sunday or Monday next, and I shall be ready to set out next morning. In the mean time I have endeavoured to confirm such members as have served your Majesty in the Parliament, and engage them to return in the same sentiments, and I found many so well satisfied with the touching of the Acts, that they were frank to have given the Sessions at the 12th of October, and so well pleased to see that your Majesty keeps matters on the foot of the Revolution, that I am sensible we should have been stronger in the Parliament in October than perhaps we can be thereafter; and I was once resolved to have asked your Majesty's allowance for the Parliament to sit at, or about, the time to which it is adjourned, but I was afraid that your Majesty's other servants would not concur with me; and I find that many of them are resolved to go to Court, and give out that they have invitations to attend your Majesty, which made me forbear to insist for the Parliament's sitting two or three weeks in October.

The President of the Session could not be well absent from the Session here, and my Lord Register's health did not allow him to travel. So I have with much difficulty prevailed with my Lord Stair to come along with me, because he knew all my

management and the proceedings of Parliament, in which he served your Majesty very heartily and honestly.

I am glad to observe that there is a great calm at present here; one sort of people are pleased, and the other have got no irritation, and they content themselves that the Session was not obtained.

I have seen that person of whom I formerly made mention to your Majesty; he confirms all that he had said to these persons who had dealt betwixt us, and adds many things more; he says he was let into all the secrets of the correspondence of Scotsmen with St. Germain's, and tells plainly that very many do correspond there. I am bound to tell your Majesty (though I ought not to believe him) that he says, he saw a letter last winter, written by my Lord Tarbat to my Lord Middleton, bearing that he was made Secretary of State, and that in a short time the Duke of Queensberry was to be shifted out, so as he was to be sole Secretary, and would have all the management of Scots business in his hands, that to secure their friends there would be a General Indemnity past, and the North country and Highlands would be made all of a piece; that the Duke of Queensberry had received five thousand pounds from the family of Hanover; that my Lord Middleton said, he knew the Duke of Hamilton was capable to be bribed, but did not believe the Duke of Queensberry

would have taken money ; he declares that Mr. Ogilvie of Boyn had frequent correspondence, which he begun when he went over to France, about his marble (yet I must do this gentleman the right to tell your Majesty that he did behave himself fairly in the Parliament, and there was none of the Gentlemen who call themselves Cavaliers that did keep their words so well to me as he did); he declares that there were three letters written by the late Queen at St. Germain, whereof one was directed to the Duke of Hamilton as Earl of Arran, which was delivered by one Captain James Murray, the other was committed to the person himself to deliver to the Duke of Gordon, which he actually did before he had entered into any correspondence with me, and the third was directed to the Lord Murray now Marquis of Athol, which was not delivered when he began this correspondence, and that he found the way to be master of that letter before it was delivered, which he gave to me, and I have transmitted to your Majesty, without breaking the seal, which is clear the effigies of the King, your Majesty's father. This person is willing to come to London, and to give what accounts he knows, providing he may do it secretly, and he offers to return to France, and discover all the correspondence and designs, but says that if he fall under observation, or that he be discovered, he runs the risk to be broke on the wheel ; he says what money

is transmitted yet from France, is only for the use of some particular persons, and that it comes by bills to London, and brought hither in specie.

I confess it is hard to think how one should know, or be ready to reveal so much, yet the delivering of that principal letter, and the showing his own commission under the hand and seal of the Prince of Wales, as King James the Eighth and Third, which he says was the first paper sealed with his new Seal, these do give credit to what else could not have been so well trusted ; and he says that he has a commission as Major General from the French King which lies there, that it might give no offence, till once the forces designed were raised. I thought it necessary to entertain him with some money till your Majesty do signify your further pleasure about him.

The Marquis of Athol's great failing in the Parliament, with this letter, made me once very doubtful whether I should give him out his patent as Duke, which your Majesty had commanded to be done ; but the regard I have punctually to obey all your Majesty's commands determined me to give it out, and now many who were witnesses of his actings in Parliament, and who know that he stands upon a Jacobite foot, are mightily scandalized that he finds the first effects of your Majesty's great favour after the Parliament, and this I am afraid may discourage them, who have

acted a contrary part for your Majesty's service in it.

Having hopes shortly to attend your Majesty, I shall at present offer no more trouble from,

Madam,

Your Majesty's most dutiful, most faithful,
and most obedient subject and servant.

Holyrood House,

Sept. the 25th. 1703.

LETTER CCCXCVII.

Dr. D'Avenant to his Son, after the News of the Battle of Hochstet, otherwise called the Battle of Bleinheim, had arrived in London.

[MS. LANSD. 773. fol. 51. *Orig.*]

* * Charles D'Avenant LL.D. was the eldest son of Sir William D'Avenant the poet. An Account of him will be found in the *Biographia Britannica*. His works, as a political writer, are well known. Henry D'Avenant his son became the English Agent at Frankfort.

Aug. 15th. 1704.

HARRY,

I HAVE in effect five of yours to answer, viz. the four that came together, and the fifth which arrived

on last Sunday night, but before that Mail arrived, I had seen Colonel Parks, who with other good news brought me that of your being in perfect health. He got hither by Thursday the 10th. instant at two o'clock afternoon, notwithstanding he was kept two days and a half at sea by contrary winds, and landed 120 miles from London, so that the haste he made was very commendable, and I hope it has made his fortune. The Queen told him he had given her more joy than ever she had received in her life, and that very soon she would make him glad. The Duchess of Marlborough and my Lord Treasurer bid him be careful of his person, and that they would take care of his fortune. When he arrived there was a general damp upon the spirit of all those who understood business; the Wednesday Mails gave us an account of the junction, and we began to apprehend that the French and Bavarians were superior in Germany, or that at best the Duke would be able to do no more than to form some Siege, which as to the sum of affairs would have been of no importance, and 'tis visible enough what would have been the effects of a fruitless campaign. They who malign the Government, that is to say the high-flyers of both sides, would have triumphed beyond measure, taxes must have been augmented, and yet if nothing had been done the Queen's affairs would have gone on very heavily next Session of Parliament, the Ministers would certainly have been attacked, as it generally

happens in our government when the state labours under misfortunes or disappointments; but, God be thanked, this is now all over, and I take the Queen's throne to be now securely fixed, and that her ministers are upon a foundation which nothing can shake. Without this victory there are those who have malice enough perhaps to have accused the Duke of Marlborough for his march to the Danube, though 'tis evident nothing else could have saved the Empire from utter ruin. The Victory was so complete, and the whole action conducted with such wisdom, that there is no room left for envy or malice to detract from the Duke's honour. I look upon it as the greatest battle that has been fought for these last thousand years, considering that the flower of all Europe was at once engaged; the battle of Pavia was in no degree so considerable, and yet the consequences of it lodged the power of Europe for a whole age in the hands of Spain. 'Tis such a blow to France that I am confident they will not recover it in many years, nor can I remember to have read in History of any country that did ever heal after it had received so deep a wound; I mean under a monarchy. As Comenes says, "*Perte de bataille a grande Qüe,*" which he said upon the battle the Duke of Burgundy lost by Nancy, by which the fate of that great Principality was determined; and upon the same ground we may hope that the blow France has received on the Danube will, however, for one age put a stop to the

designs they have been forming for Universal Empire. I have this post congratulated with the Duke of Marlborough for his victory. Enclosed you have a copy of my letter.

About three weeks ago Count Briançon delivered me the medal from Princess Sophia, and I had prepared a very elaborate letter to Her Royal Highness, the design of which was to prepare her for the disappointment I have foreseen for some time she would receive as to the succession in Scotland; indeed I did not think that matter would have been so soon determined, but it seems they began the Parliament with it. They have granted the Queen a six months' tax, and she has passed their Security Act, whereby the Crown-Prerogative is very much diminished, and they have got their ends with the Queen's obtaining hers. However, I am of opinion 'twas the wisest course Her Majesty could take, for she has thereby reconciled to herself all those who opposed the Court upon any principle of the public good; for, having whatever they could in reason or justice desire, they who shall form Oppositions hereafter will be thought to be bribed by France, which upon this Victory will be but a cold game. Upon the whole matter I hope the Queen's hands are now so strengthened, and her enemies both abroad and at home are so dispirited, that she will be able to obtain in any part of her dominion whatever she conceives to tend to the general welfare of her

people, so that I believe in a little time the Succession will be settled, especially if England next Session of Parliament shows itself inclined to enter upon an Union, and to grant the Scots a free communication of our Trade, which I have ever thought just, and without which I am apt to think they will never acknowledge our Successor, unless by force we compel them to do it.

I thank you for the copy of your letter to Mr. Harley: there was nothing in it against which there could be a reasonable objection, nor did your last to me contain any more melancholy reflections than the Duke himself made to my Lord Treasurer; however, considering the good News which got hither before your last despatch, I am glad you were so fortunate as not to communicate your politics to Mr. Secretary.

I desire you to look out sharp whether or no there is any likelihood of the Duke of Bavaria's entering into the Alliance before Christmas; we think here he will be reduced to it, and that the Confederates will still give him terms. Sir Stephen Evans and I in partnership have laid two hundred guineas upon it; if you believe him obstinate, or the thing impracticable, advise me of it, for I can edge it off, and with advantage. Your mother and grandmother send you their blessings, and sisters their love. I am

Your most affectionate father,

CHARLES DAVENANT.

LETTER CCCXCVIII.

*Prince George of Hanover, afterwards King George II.,
to Queen Anne, upon his receiving the Order of the
Garter.*

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4903. fol. 17. ENTIRELY IN THE PRINCE'S
HAND.]

MADAME,

J'AI reçu avec une parfaite reconnoissance la Lettre dont il a plus à votre Majeste de charger Mr. le Baron de Halifax. Je suis penetré de la marque de distinction dont elle a bien voulu m'honorer en me donnant l'Ordre de la Jarretiere. Je supplie votre Majesté d'être persuadée que je ne desire rien plus ardemment que de faire voir par mes actions que je ne suis pas indigne d'entrer dans un si illustre corps. My Lord Halifax n'a pas manqué de me donner les assurances les plus obligeantes des sentimens pleins de bonté de votre Majesté a mon égard. Je me flatte qu'à son retour en Angleterre il luy fera fidele rapport de mon

parfait devouement pour elle, et du profond respect
avec lequel je serai toute ma vie,

Madame,

de votre Majesté le très humble
et très obéissant serviteur,

GEORGE AUGUSTE, *Pr. El.*

Hannover, ce 20

Juin, 1706.

A sa Majesté

La Reine de la Grand Bretagne.

LETTER CCCXCIX.

Prince George of Hanover to Queen Anne, upon receiving his Patent as Duke of Cambridge. Complimentary upon the Union with Scotland.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4903. art. 25. Orig. ENTIRELY IN THE PRINCE'S HAND-WRITING.]

MADAME,

MR. How n'a pas manqué de me remettre la Lettre dont votre Majesté m'a honoré avec les patentes de Duc de Cambridge, qu'elle a eu la bonté de m'accorder. Je la supplie très humblement d'être persuadée que j'ai recû l'une et l'autre avec une extreme reconnoissance, et qu'on ne peut pas faire plus de cas que j'en

fais de cette dignité, ny être plus penetré que je le suis de la maniere obligeante dont votre Majesté me l'a conferée. Je tacherai d'y repondre par le plus parfait devouement, et par les sentimens les plus zelez et les plus respectueux. Je me flatte, que votre Majesté ne trouvera pas mauvais si je me sers d'une occasion si favorable pour lui témoigner la part que je prends au grand ouvrage qu'elle vient d'acheuer en donnant la derniere main à l'Union des deux Royaumes. C'est un endroit si glorieux de son Regne, que quoi qu'il n'ait été qu'une suite continuelle de merveilles et de grands événemens, il semble que celuicy fut necessaire pour mettre dans tout son jour le soin infatigable avec lequel votre Majesté s'aplique à affermir sur des fondemens inébranlables le bonheur de ses sujets. Je suis avec un très profond respect,

Madame,
de votre Majesté, le tres humble
et très obéissant serviteur,
GEORGE AUGUSTE, *Pr. El.*

Hannover, ce 8 Avril,
1707.

A sa Majesté
La Reyne de la Grand Bretagne.

LETTER CCCC.

Lord Sunderland to the Duke of Newcastle. Proposes to make a stand in Parliament, or the Prince of Wales will be brought in.

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 236. Orig.]

Althorp, Aug. 9th. 1708.

MY LORD,

I BELIEVE Lord Sommers and Lord Halifax have acquainted your Grace with the unlucky accidents that have prevented our waiting you at Welbeck; however I should have done myself the honour to have gone alone, but that, since my coming here, I have had the ill luck to sprain my foot, which has put me to a great deal of pain and trouble, but is now something easier. I own I am extremely concerned at this disappointment, for besides the pleasure of waiting upon your Grace, it would have been of use to have talked together of the present posture of our affairs, which though they are very fortunately and unexpectedly mended abroad, by our success in Flanders and in the West Indies, yet seem to grow worse and worse every day at home; for without running over all the particulars, such as the villainous management of Scotland,

the state of the Fleet, which is worse than ever, the condition of Ireland in which the Protestant interest is lower and the Popish higher than ever, their late management in relation to the Invasion, and in particular the pardoning Lord Griffin, is a declaration to the whole world, as far as in them lies, for the Prince of Wales and against the Protestant succession. These are such proceedings, that, if there is not a just spirit shewn in Parliament, we had as good give up the game and submit to my Lord Treasurer and Lord Marlborough's bringing in the Prince of Wales.

My reason of troubling your Grace with all this is to conjure you not to defer coming to town too long, till just the Parliament meets; for whatever is proper to be done must be concerted beforehand, and that cannot be done without your presence and influence. I know you are very averse to coming to town before your time, but three weeks or a month sooner or later I hope will break no squares, and it is so absolutely necessary, that it is the joint request of your friends and humble servants; and indeed our all is at stake; for if next Sessions of Parliament does not redress the mischiefs, there's an end of the Revolution and the Protestant succession.

I have obeyed your commands in relation to Mr. Rayner; as for Mr. Attwood, several merchants of the other side have lodged a Petition against him, so that he has desired to have the matter put off till more of his

friends are in Town. Your Grace may depend upon my doing him all the service I can.

I hope your Grace has your health well in the country, and beg you to believe that I am, with the greatest truth and respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

SUNDERLAND.

LETTER CCCCCI.

Lord Sunderland to the Duke of Newcastle. The Resolution of certain Peers to declare against the Court. The Removal of Prince George of Denmark from his Office of Lord High Admiral projected.

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 238. Orig.]

MY LORD,

I GIVE your Grace this trouble at the desire of the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Bolton, Lord Dorchester, Lord Orford, Lord Wharton, Lord Townshend, Lord Sommers, and Lord Halifax, to give you an account of what has passed between them and Lord Treasurer in relation to the present posture of our

affairs, in which they hope what steps they have made will meet with your approbation. They have upon the best consideration among themselves come to this resolution and opinion, that it was impossible for them, with any reputation to themselves or safety to the public, to go on any longer with the Court, upon the foot things are at present ; for that if one looks round every part of the Administration, the management of the Fleet, the condition of Ireland, the Proceedings in Scotland, the management of the late Invasion, the disposal of Church Preferments, &c. they are all of a piece, as much tory, and as wrong as if Lord Rochester and Lord Nottingham were at the head of every thing, under the disguise of some considerable Whigs in some considerable places, but with so little credit, or to so little purpose, that they can neither obtain any right thing to be done, nor prevent any wrong one. They considered that the management of the fleet, as it is of the greatest consequence, so it is under the most scandalous management of all, and that this is never to be cured but by the Prince's quitting ; for that whatever Council he has, George Churchill will in effect be always Lord High Admiral ; so that they have in a body declared to Lord Treasurer, that if this is not immediately done, they must let the world and their friends see they have nothing more to do with the Court. The man they propose to be Lord High Admiral is Lord Pembroke (which would open a re-

dress for Ireland, and, what is so much desired by all honest people, the President's place for Lord Sommers). My Lord Treasurer seemed to agree with them in opinion, (as his way always is in words,) but at the same time pretends great difficulties, and that when Lord Marlborough comes all will be set right, which by the way cannot be much before Christmas. To this the Lords told him that they could no longer rely upon promises and words, and that therefore they must take their measures, till this thing was actually done, as if it never was to be done; and they told him therefore plainly that they would and must oppose the Court in the choice of a Speaker, that being the first point to come on, for that they had no other way left to let the world see, and all their friends, that they were upon a different foot to this. He was pleased to make a proposal, which was as ridiculous as it shewed the uncertainty of their intentions to do any thing that was right, and that was that there should be an Act of Parliament obtained to allow the Prince to continue Lord High Admiral, and to empower his Council to act for him. It would be tedious to repeat all the objections the Lords made to this proposal, as absurd, ridiculous, and ineffectual, and what no Parliament ever would hear of: I will only mention one particular, which is very remarkable and pretty extraordinary, that Lord Treasurer told them that he had mentioned this proposal to Lord Chancellor, and that he had entirely

approved of it: Lord Chancellor since has been told what Lord Treasurer said, and he does positively affirm that he does not remember that ever Lord Treasurer spoke to him, or he to Lord Treasurer of any such proposal. This extraordinary proceeding has been a further confirmation to the Lords of the reason they have to declare against the Court, which they are resolved to do in this first point of the Speaker, by setting up Sir Peter King; and I am confident when the Court see this, that the Whigs will no longer be fooled; they will then do all reasonable things, which they will never do whilst they hope that words and promises will pass. I must not forget telling you that this day, unexpectedly, without any body knowing any thing of it, Sir James Mountague has been made Attorney General and Mr. Eyres Solicitor, which, I believe, has been owing to the vigour with which those Lords spoke to Lord Treasurer, and confirms them in their opinion that if they go on in their resolution and stand together, the other more essential things will be also done. My Lord Steward, to-morrow, is to speak to Lord Chancellor to acquaint him with the resolutions they have taken, and to try to persuade him to act, with spirit and vigour, with the rest of his friends.

I beg a thousand pardons for this long long Letter, but as I have been forced to omit a great many particulars for fear of being too tedious, so I was very desirous myself, as well as at the command of these

Lords, to explain this whole affair to your Grace as well as I could, hoping you will approve of what they have done; for, in our present condition, all depends upon our acting of a piece and in concert; and, if we do so, we must carry our point, and save our Country, which I think is in as great danger as ever I knew. I must add the request of all these Lords to your Grace, that you would let them have your company and assistance here in town as soon as may be.

I am ever, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient

humble servant,

SUNDERLAND.

LETTER CCCCII.

Dr. White Kennett, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough,
to

[MS. LANSD. 825. fol. 7. Orig.]

DEAR SIR,

ON Thursday night I was pressed away by command into service here the next morning, for want of ordinary Chaplains, which I wish it were in my power to supply, that you might see the duties of Waiting.

I was under the sad apprehension of being hurried away to Newmarket, but her Majesty, resisting the advice of her physicians, was pleased yesterday to comply with a motion of the Prince, and declared her resolution of not going this season, which I see is a great joy to most of the good Courtiers, and gave the Ladies a new lesson, that she who governs the Nation can govern herself so well, as always to oblige her Husband.

Dr. Atterbury preached the election Sermon Mich. Day for the Lord Mayor, correcting Mr. Hoadley for Sedition, and carrying up the old doctrines of Obed. so very high, that a majority of the Aldermen were much offended, and put a negative upon the motion for printing his Sermon.

We have yet no certain advices of taking Lisle, but we seem very much to depend upon it, and upon a happy end of the Campaign in every part of Europe; which I pray God grant. Due respects to you and yours.

Your affectionate kinsman,

WH. KENNETT.

Kensington,
Octob. 2, 1708.

LETTER CCCCIH.

*The Earl of Sunderland to the Duke of Newcastle.
The Death of Prince George of Denmark. Official
Changes.*

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 244. Orig.]

London, Nov. 4th. 1708.

MY LORD,

SINCE I wrote last to your Grace, and had the honour of your answer, the death of the Prince has made so great an alteration in every thing, and particularly in what was most at every body's heart, the affair of the Admiralty, that as soon as it happened, those of our friends of the House of Commons that were in Town, and that were the most zealous with us in setting up Sir Peter King, begun to press us to accommodate the matter and not to make division, since by this accident there was room to have every thing set right; since that, my Lord Treasurer has acquainted us that the Queen had agreed to make Lord Pembroke Lord High Admiral, Lord Sommers President, and Lord Wharton Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Sommers is out of Town, so that whether he will be persuaded to accept of it, or no, I cannot tell; but he would be

so much in the wrong if he should not, that I won't doubt but he will. These Proposals are so great in themselves towards putting things upon a thorough right foot, that those Lords in whose names I wrote last to your Grace have desired me to acquaint you with it, and that their thoughts upon it are, that since these main things are like to be done, it would by no means be right to venture a division of our friends upon the first point of the Speaker, and therefore they have already spoke with Sir Peter King, in order to endeavour to make him easy in it; so that if your Grace is of the same mind, and approves what they have done, you will please to let your friends of the House of Commons know it in the manner you shall judge properest. We are in expectation of seeing you here every day. However, these Lords directed me to acquaint you with it as soon as possible. I am ever, with the greatest truth and respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient

humble servant,

SUNDERLAND.

LETTER CCCCIV.

*The Duke of Marlborough to The
dismal aspect of affairs.*

[MS. SLOAN. 1407. fol. 104.]

Aug. the 18th. 1710.

SIR,

POOR Mr. Cardonnel being sick, I must ask your pardon for writing in English; but I would not defer any longer returning you my thanks for your obliging Letter of the 5th. and assuring you at the same time the satisfaction I take in the good choice the Elector has made of Mons^r. de Bothmer. Our conjuncture in England is so very extraordinary, that it will require not only his diligence but also his utmost prudence. I pray God every thing may end for the best; but our dismal aspect seems rather favourable for France than for ourselves.

I am with truth,

Sir,

Your faithful friend and servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

LETTER CCCC.V.

Robert Harley, Esq. to the Elector of Hanover. His devotion to the Elector's Person and Serene House.

[MS. SLOAN. 4107. fol. 106.]

* * The Reader is now presented with a few Letters which show the manner in which the British Statesmen, when they thought the reign of Anne seemed drawing to its close, approached the heirs expectant. The Princess Sophia was advanced in years. Their chief homage was to the Electoral Prince.

Queen Anne's aversion to the presence of a Prince of the House of Hanover at her Court, will be seen in some other Letters. It probably was not the mere presence of a successor that was so hateful. The Elector of Hanover, when Prince, in 1680, had expressly arrived on the shores of England as a suitor to the Queen, then the Lady Anne, but had quitted them to marry the Princess Sophia Dorothea of Zell. Anne too, in spite of the Protestant Succession, had moments of thought, if not of pity for her brother.

May it please your Highness,

I do myself the honour to make this tender of my most humble duty to your Electoral Highness by the hands of Mrs. Cresset, who being my relation, and her affairs calling her into Germany, I was not willing to let her go without putting in your Highness's hands this testimony of my devotion to your Electoral Highness's person and your Serene House. I have hitherto chose, that this should appear rather by my actions than by bare words. But since the Queen has done me the honour to bring me again into her service, I could not be a faithful or acceptable servant to her

Majesty without studying to serve your Highness's interest.

I do not presume to give your Electoral Highness any account of the late changes here. I doubt not but that Earl Rivers has laid before you the grounds which necessitated the Queen to do what she has done; which has also given the greater and better part of the Nation an opportunity to express their duty to your most Serene House.

I have taken the liberty to write this in English, because I know your Electoral Highness has an English heart; that you may be assured it comes from a heart entirely devoted to your service.

I am, with the profoundest duty,
may it please your Highness,
Your Electoral Highness's most dutiful,
most humble, and most obedient servant,

ROBERT HARLEY.

London, Novemb. $\frac{1}{12}$, 1710.

LETTER CCCCVI.

The Elector's Answer to Mr. Harley.

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 263. Orig.]

Hannover le 15 Dec. 1710.

MONSIEUR,

MADAME CRESSET m'a rendu la Lettre que vous

avez pris la peine de m'écrire. J'ay reçu avec beaucoup de plaisir les assurances qu'elle contient de vostre attachement aux interets de ma Maison, et c'est avec beaucoup de joye que j'apprens que la Reyne honore de sa confiance un Ministre qui connoist si parfaitement les veritables interets de la Grand Bretagne, et qui a toujours marquè tant de zele pour sa Patrie.

Comme rien ne m'est plus precieux que cette bienveillance dont sa Majesté m'a donné tant de marques, vous ne scauriez m'obliger plus sensiblement qu'en contribuant à me la conserver. Je la cultiveray de mon costé avec tout le soin imaginable, et je seray toujours fort aise de vous faire voir la consideration que j'ay pour vostre personne, et la sincerité avec laquelle je suis,

Monsieur,

Vostre tres affectionné,

GEORGE LOUIS, *Electeur.*

Mr. Robert Harlay.

LETTER CCCCVII.

Robert Harley, Esq. to the Elector of Hanover, in return to his Highness's Answer.

[MS. DONAT. 4107. art. 122.]

May it please your Highness,

I RECEIVED the great honour of your Electoral

Highness's Letter of December 15th, with that profound respect and thankfulness which is due to so obliging a mark of your condescension and goodness. I beseech your Highness to accept the assurance of my utmost fidelity and inviolable attachment to the interest of your family, to which I am obliged, as well by duty to the Queen as by the common good of my Country. The Queen takes all occasions to express the great esteem she has for your Highness, and concern for your interest; and, as a further instance of her Majesty's desire on all occasions to improve that good correspondence which is so necessary, the Queen commands me to communicate to your Electoral Highness a change she has been obliged to make in her Court, by removing the Duchess of Marlborough. Last night the Duke brought the gold key, the ensign of one of his wife's places; the Queen having indulged him his choice to bring it or have it sent for. This is so far from hindering the Duke from continuing in his post, that he seems resolved to accommodate himself to the Queen's pleasure, and go on in her service. The causes of this lady's disgrace have been so public, and of so many years' continuance, that it will be needless to trouble your Electoral Highness on that head. The places will be speedily disposed, and the chiefest will fall to the share of the Duchess of Somerset. I shall think myself extremely happy, if any occasion shall be ever offered me to manifest the great vene-

ration and duty wherewith I am, may it please your Electoral Highness,

Your Highness's most humble, most
dutiful, and most obedient servant,

RO. HARLEY.

Jan. $\frac{29}{30}$, 17 $\frac{10}{11}$.

LETTER CCCCVIII.

*The Duke of Buckingham to the Elector of Hanover.
Offers his humble and zealous service.*

[MS. DONAT. 4007. fol. 132.]

Windsor, Oct. 9th. 1711.

SIR,

NOT having received the honour of any commands from your Electoral Highness by Mons^r. Bothemar, I have hitherto restrained myself from repeating the Offers of that humble and zealous service which I am sure your Electoral Highness can have no possible cause to doubt of, after my constant endeavours to show it on all occasions. But this late transaction between Britain and France, of which the Earl of Rivers is sent to give you exact information, has given occasion, not only for the Queen herself, but for her Ministers also to show their timely care and uttermost

concern for the Succession in your illustrious line ; and having myself not only an affectionate zeal, but even a jealous regard to the things relating to that matter, I can with all assurance give your Electoral Highness the satisfaction of my being a witness that no part of those overtures was so much at the heart of every body employed about it, as that which indeed deserved it most, the Protestant Succession ; and therefore whatever happy occasion I had, some few years ago, to be a little remarkable in my concern for her Royal Highness your Mother, I could not at this time, with all my zeal, outdo the faithful service which every Lord intrusted has shown in this Affair. The business of the Medal also in Scotland, if not immediately prosecuted through the remissness of some who have been displaced there for that failing, is now to be strictly punished, as I am sure it ought to have been at first. I had some particular reason not to put this Letter into the hands of my Lord Rivers, and hope you will pardon this liberty in

Your Electoral Highness's most humble,
and most obedient servant,

BUCKINGHAM P.

LETTER CCCCIX.

Mr. Harley, now Earl of Oxford, to the Elector of Hanover. The Queen's care of the Elector's interest.

[MS. DONAT. 4107. art. 129.]

May it please your Highness,

THE Queen sending Earl Rivers to communicate to your Electoral Highness an affair of great consequence, I presume to desire leave at the same time to make your Highness a tender of my most humble duty. My Lord will give your Electoral Highness the detail of what has passed here with relation to a Peace, and the care her Majesty has taken in the first place of the interest of your Highness and your Family. This the Queen has done without any reciprocal obligation or promise from her Majesty to France, notwithstanding the great need we have of peace, and that the nation is exhausted; yet the Queen would not act without the concurrence of all her Allies; and therefore your Highness will observe that all steps taken here are but provisional: though it would have been no difficult matter to have adjusted the interest of the several Allies, but that the Queen was resolved to give none of them any cause of jealousy, but leave each State to

make their own demands at the general Treaty, which the Queen proposes to be opened immediately. I did myself the honour to acquaint your Electoral Highness with the Queen's compliance to your desires of having some of your cavalry return this Winter for a particular occasion; and I shall ever esteem it the greatest felicity of my life when I have any opportunity to show the inviolable attachment and great veneration wherewith I am,

May it please your Electoral Highness,
Your Highness's most dutiful, most
humble, and most obedient servant,

OXFORD.

Oct. the $\frac{5}{16}$, 1711.

LETTER CCCCX.

*The Princess Caroline, afterwards Queen of England,
to Queen Anne.*

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 4903. art. 47. Orig. ENTIRELY IN THE PRINCESS'S HAND.]

MADAME,

J'AY reçu avec un tres profond respect la Lettre donc il a plus a votre Majesté de m'honorer par le Sr. Harlais, on ne peu estre plus reconnoissonte que je la suis, Madame, pour toute les graces que votre Ma-

jesté m'y temoigne la, supliant tres humblement de me
les conserver comme a une personne qui en connois plaine-
ment le prys, et qui est avec une tres parfaite soumission,

Madame,

de votre Majesté

La tres humble et

tres obeissante servante,

CAROLINE.

Hanw. le 29 Sep. 1712.

LETTER CCCCXI.

Secretary Bromley to the Princess Sophia.

[MS. DONAT. 4107. art. 136.]

MADAM,

SINCE my Son goes with Mr. Harley to Hanover
I beg your Highness will permit me to do myself the
honour to assure you of my sincere and unfeigned
regards for your interests and those of your Serene
Family, on which the future happiness of my country
depends. This opinion will always engage me to be,
with the most profound respect,

Madam,

Your Highness's most obedient and
most humble servant,

W. BROMLEY.

Whitehall, Feb. 12, 17 $\frac{13}{14}$.

LETTER CCCCXII.

*The Earl of Oxford to Baron Wassenaar Duyven-
worde. Against any branch of the Elector's Fa-
mily coming over without the Queen's consent.*

[MS. SLOAN. 4107. fol. 161.]

April $\frac{14}{5}$, 1714.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THIS last past I received the honour of your Letter of the 17th of April, for which be pleased to accept my most humble thanks.

I send you this Letter by an express messenger, who is going to Mr. Harley with my Letters to Hanover; and if you please, he will carry any thing you think fit to write. But that I may answer that openness, wherewith you so obligingly treat me, I do in the most solemn manner assure you, that next to the Queen, I am entirely and unalterably devoted to the interest of his Electoral Highness of Hanover. This is not only from the conscience of my oaths, but out of profound respect to the Elector's great virtues. I may without vanity say, that I had the greatest hand in settling the succession. I have ever preserved the same opinion, and it is owing to the declarations the Queen has so often made in their favour that the generality of the

people are come to be for that Serene House. I am sure that Lady Masham, the Queen's favourite, is entirely for their Succession. I am also sure that the Queen is so; and you may do me the justice to assure his Electoral Highness, that I am ready to give him all the proofs of my attachment to his interests and to set in a true light the state of this Country; for it will be very unfortunate for so great a Prince to be only Prince over a party, which can never last long in England; and let me in confidence tell you, Sir, that there is but one thing can be any way of prejudice to the Succession in that family, and that is the endeavour to bring them, or any of them, over without the Queen's consent. Two Courts in this Country have been so fatal, and the factions are so high, that it must be very mischievous both to the Queen and to that Serene House, to have any such thing enterprised, that may create a difference between the Queen and that family, that will change the dispute to the Crown and the Successor; whereas now it is between the House of Hanover and the Popish Pretender.

I will add but this one word, that I will assure you, that upon any advances of kindness from the House of Hanover, I will pawn my life for it, they shall receive most essential proofs of the Queen's friendship; and I am sure that is the best confirmation of their Succession.

Be pleased to accept my most hearty thanks, and to believe me to be, with the greatest respect,

Right Honourable,

Your most humble and most obedient
servant,

OXFORD.

LETTER CCCCXIII.

Archbishop Dawes to the Princess Sophia. The zeal of himself and the Clergy for the Protestant succession.

[MS. SLOAN. 4107. fol. 164.]

MADAM,

I WANT words to express my deep sense of the great honour which your Royal Highness has done me in vouchsafing to take notice of, and kindly accept, my poor endeavours to serve your illustrious House, and in that the Protestant interest in general, and our own happy Constitution in Church and State in particular. It is so much both my duty and my interest to do all that I am able for this end, that I should be unpardonable if I did it not. I hope your Royal Highness will every day more and more have the satisfaction of seeing, not only myself, but the whole body of our clergy are faithful and zealous as becomes us in this respect, and that the same good spirit is still amongst

us, which so laudably and, through the blessing of God, successfully opposed and got the better of the attempts of France and Popery in King James's reign.

Madam, I daily and most ardently pray to God for the health, long life, and prosperity of yourself and every branch of your illustrious family; and particularly that he would guard and maintain your right of succeeding to the Crown of these Realms, as now by law established.

I am, with the most profound duty and respect,

Madam,

Your Royal Highness's most obedient
and most faithful servant,

W. EBOR.

London, May the
4th, 1714.

LETTER CCCCXIV.

*Lord Chancellor Harcourt to Baron Schutz. The
Writ of Summons for the Duke of Cambridge.*

[MS. LANSD. 1226. fol. 259. Orig.]

SIR,

WHEN you came to me yesterday and told me that by order of the Princess Sophia you demanded a Writ of Summons for the Duke of Cambridge, I let you

know that I thought it my duty to acquaint Her Majesty therewith.

I have accordingly laid this matter before the Queen, who was pleased to say, that not having received the least intimation of this demand from you, or in any other manner whatsoever from the Court of Hanover, she could hardly persuade herself that you acted by direction from thence; that she therefore did not think fit to give any other answer than this, that I should do what the law required.

The Writ for the Duke of Cambridge was sealed of course, when the Writs of Summons to all the other Peers were sealed, and lies ready to be delivered to you whenever you call for it. I am,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

HARCOURT, C.

LETTER CCCCXV.

*The Earl of Oxford to the Elector of Hanover, after
“ the accident respecting the Writ.”*

[MS. DONAT. 4107. fol. 142. Orig.]

May it please your Royal Highness,
THOUGH I expect Mr. Harley every moment in re-

turn from your Court, and thereby shall have another opportunity of doing myself the honour to present your Royal Highness with my most humble duty and the assurance of my utmost service, yet I profit of this occasion of the Queen's messengers attending your Royal Highness with her Majesty's letter, to lay myself at your feet. I have no enemy who knows me, that is not just enough to allow me to be inviolably attached to your succession ; nothing comes in competition with that, because I know I please the Queen when I am zealous for the service of your Serene House. I hope therefore I shall find credit with your Royal Highness when I humbly lay my sincere opinion before you. I am sure the Queen is most hearty for your succession ; and if there be any thing which may render it more secure which is consistent with Her Majesty's safety, it will be accomplished. It is not the eager desires of some, or what flows from the advice of any whose discontents (perhaps) animate their zeal, can balance the security you have in the Queen's friendship, and the dutiful affection of all her faithful subjects ; for as I am sure your Royal Highness's great wisdom would not choose to rule by a party, so you will not let their narrow measures be the standard of your Government. I doubt not but this accident which hath happened about the Writ, may be improved to increase the most perfect friendship between the Queen and your Serene Family. I shall study to do every thing which may

demonstrate the profound veneration and respect where-
with I am,

May it please your Royal Highness,

your Royal Highness's most dutiful,

most humble, and most obedient servant,

OXFORD.

May $\frac{1}{3}^o$, 1714.

LETTER CCCCXVI.

*The Elector of Hanover to Queen Anne announcing
the loss of his Mother.*

[MS. DONAT. 4903. art. 56. Orig.]

MADAME,

J'AY reçu la lettre du $\frac{1}{3}^o$ de May dont il a plû à
V^{re} Maj^{té} de m'honorer. Mais ayant eu le malheur
deux jours apres sa reception de perdre Madame
l'Electrice ma Mere, par une mort sùbite, qui m'a
rempli d'affliction, et que je ne manqueray pas de
notifier a V^{re} Maj^{té} d'une maniere conforme au re-
spect que je luy dois, je me trouve obligé par une si
juste douleur de differer de quelques jours à repondre
au contenu de la lettre de V^{re} Maj^{té}. Je la prie
d'être persuadé du soin et de l'empressement que je

apporteray toujours à cultiver l'honneur de ses bonnes
graces, et du respect avec le quel je suis,

Madame,

de votre Majesté le tres humble
et tres obeissant serviteur,

GEORGE LOUIS, *Electeur.*

Herrenhausen,

le 11 Juin, 1714.

A sa M^{ie} la Reine de la
Gr. Bretagne.

LETTER CCCCXVII.

*The Elector of Hanover to the Lord Treasurer Ox-
ford upon the same.*

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 285. Orig.]

Herrenhausen, le 11 Juin 1714.

MY LORD,

J'AY reçu le 6 de ce Mois vostre Lettre du 30 de
May, et ayant perdu, le 8, Madame l'Electrice ma mere
par une mort impreveuë, qui m'a rempli d'une tres
grande affliction. Je ne suis pas encore en estat de
repondre à son contenu. Je le feray au premier jour,
et j'auray l'honneur de notifier ce triste evenement à sa
Majeste d'une maniere conforme au respect que je luy

dois. Je Vous prie de vouloir employer votre grand credit auprès d'Elle, pour qu'Elle me conserve l'honneur de ses bonnes graces, et d'être persuadé que je suis tres sincerement.

Milord,
Vostre tres affectionné
GEORGE LOUIS, *Electeur*.

A my Lord Grand Thresorier.

LETTER CCCCXVIII.

*The Prince Elector to Queen Anne: to be restored to
favour.*

[MS. DONAT. 4903. art. 57. Orig. ENTIRELY IN THE PRINCE'S
HAND-WRITING.]^a

MADAME,

C'EST avec beaucoup de douleur que j'ai remarqué par la Lettre du 30 de May dont votre Majeste m'a honoré, qu'on a travaillé à me rendre suspect auprès d'elle, et à me representer comme capable d'exciter des troubles, et d'encourager des factions dans ses Royaumes. Comme ce sont là des desseins dont ie me pardonnerois pas même la pensée, ie souhaiterois ardemment

^a The Paper on which this Letter is written is edged with black.

d'être à portée d'en pouvoir désabuser votre Majesté et d'être connu d'elle de plus près. Je suis persuadé, que ma conduite l'engageroit bientôt à me rendre justice, et à m'accorder l'honneur de ses bonnes grâces, que ie rechercherai toujours avec le dernier empressement, étant avec beaucoup de respect,

Madame,

de votre Majesté,

le très humble, et très obéissant serviteur,

GEORGE AUGUSTE, *Pr. El.*

Hannover, ce

15 Juin, 1714.

LETTER CCCCXIX.

The Elector of Hanover to the Lord Treasurer Oxford, upon the necessity for the presence of some Prince of his House in England, to secure the Queen and her Dominions against the designs of the Pretender.

[MS. LANSD. 1236. fol. 287. Orig.]

* * Lord Oxford resigned his staff of Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain into the Queen's hands, at Kensington, July the 27th. 1714; she dying upon the 1st. of August following.

Upon the King's arrival at Greenwich, Lord Oxford went there and kissed his Majesty's hand, but no intercourse in any other respect took place.

In Administration his conduct had been equivocal. He had corre-

sponded at the same time with the dethroned family, and with the House of Hanover. As a tory also he was unacceptable.

On June 10th. 1715, the House of Commons impeached Lord Oxford of high treason; and on July 16th. he was committed to the Tower by the House of Lords, where he suffered confinement till July 1st. 1717, when, after a public trial he was acquitted by his Peers. He now withdrew from public life, devoting himself chiefly to the accumulation of those literary treasures, from the manuscript portion of which so much has been drawn for these Volumes. He died May the 21st. 1724.

Hannover, le 15 de Juin, 1714.

MYLORD,

J'AY vû avec beaucoup de plaisir, dans vostre Lettre du 30 de May, les nouvelles assurances que vous me donnez de vostre zele pour la succession Protestante, et de vostre attachement pour mes interets. Ces bons sentiments n'ont jamais esté plus necessaires qu'à present, puisqu'il s'agit de dissiper les ombrages qu'on tache d'inspirer contre moy et contre ma Maison, en nous imputant des dessins prejudiciables à l'autorité de la Reyne; et quoy que je me flatte que la Lettre que je me donne l'honneur d'écrire a sa Majesté pourra contribüer a lui faire connoistre la sincerité de mes intentions, vous m'obligerez infiniment Mylord, si vous voulez bien y joindre vos bons offices. Vous aurez vû par le Memoire que j'ay fait delivrer icy à vostre Parent combien je souhaite de concerter avec la Reyne tout ce qui paroist estre encore necessaire pour l'affermissement de la Succession Protestante; et vous

ignorez pas que plusieurs personnes distinguées de l'un et de l'autre Party qui ont cette succession fort en cœur, et qui sont sujets fidelles et serviteurs zeles de la Reyne, ont jugé que la presence d'un des Princes de ma Maison seroit le moyen le plus efficace pour mettre en seureté la Personne et les Royaumes de sa Majesté contre les desseins d'un Pretendant, qui se tient toujours à portée malgré les instances de la Reyne, et qui a lieu de compter sur un puissant secours estranger. Il paroist en effect Mylord, que quand mesme la Nation pourroit estre en seureté contre le Pretendant pendant la vie de Sa Majesté, il n'en seroit pas de mesme en cas qu'il plust à Dieu d'affliger la Grand Bretagne en retirant à luy une Reine, qui la gouverne avec tant de gloire, et qu'en ce dernier cas la presence d'un Prince de la ligne Protestante ne seroit pas de peu d'utilité pour empecher les desordres du dedans, et les invasions du dehors. Si vous savez quelque autre moyen de procurer à la Succession une seurete equivalente, vous m'obligerez fort de m'en faire part. Vous pouvez vous en ouvrir au Ministre de confiance que j'envoye à sa Majesté, et qui vous rendre cette Lettre, et comme vous avez esté un des premiers promoteurs de la Succession Protestante, et que vous avez travaillé en tant d'occasions pour l'affermir, je vous prie de continuer à le faire dans celle cy, et d'estre persuadé que vous trouverez en moy toute la reconnoissance que vous en pou-

vez attendre, et que je seray fort aise de me voir en estat de vous en donner des marques, estant très sincerement

Milord,

Vostre tres affectionné,

GEORGE LOUIS, *Electeur.*

A SHORT time previous to the writing of this Letter a Memorial attested by the Seals of the Princess Sophia and the Elector, dated May 7th. 1714, had been presented to Mr. Harley at Hanover. It dwelt upon the same topics with those which are here pressed by the Elector alone, making a request also that steps should be taken to drive the Pretender from the Court of Lorraine to Italy. "C'est dans cette confiance que L. A. El^{es}. prenens la liberté de représenter a S. Ma^{te}. la nécessité qu'il y a d'obliger le Pretendant a se retirer en Italie, et le danger qui pourroit resueter de son plus long sejour en Lorraine tant aux Royaumes de S. M^{te}. qu'a sa Personne Royale et a la Succession Protestante."

This last sentence seems to fix the date of one of the best Songs written in the Pretender's favor, and which it is believed has never before appeared in Print. The Copy here given is from the Lansdowne MS. 852. p. 370.

From Queen Anne's Proclamation of June 21st. 1714, her Majesty's attempt to remove the Pretender from Lorraine appears to have been unsuccessful.

A SONG.

Bring in the Bowl, I'll toast a Health
To one that has neither land nor wealth:
The bonniest lad you ever saw
Is over the hills and far away:
Over the hills, and over the dales:
No lasting Peace till he prevails.
Pull up my lads with a loud Huzza,
A Health to him that's far away.

By France, by Rome, likewise by Spain,
By all forsook but DUKE LORRAIN;
The next remove appears most plain
Will be to bring him back again.

Over the hills and far awaw,
Over the hills and far awaw,
The bonniest lad you ever saw-
Is over the hills and far awaw.

He knew no harm, he knew no guilt,
No laws had broke, no blood had spilt ;
If rogues his Father did betray,
What 's that to him that 's far away.
Over the hills and far awaw,
Beyond those hills and far awaw
The wind may change and fairly blaw,
And blaw him back that 's blown awaw.

AMONGST Sir Hans Sloane's Manuscripts, as well as in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, copies are preserved of several interesting Letters from Dr. Smith, one of Queen Anne's Physicians, to the Duke and Duchess of Shrewsbury, relating to her Majesty's last illness. The Queen had been for some time declining in health, about the management of which the Physicians appear to have differed, particularly in the exhibition to their patient of the Jesuit's bark. About two months before the Queen's death, an imposthumation came in one of her legs, upon the subsiding of which, as Dr. Smith considered, the gouty humour translated itself upon the brain. Anxiety of mind was the disposing, gout the immediate cause of her Majesty's demise.

LETTERS
OF
THE REIGN OF
KING GEORGE THE FIRST.

THE nearer we approach to our own times, the more important do the events of History appear. We combine what we read with the traditions of our fathers, and seem to half-live in the Century which went before us.

With the reign of *GEORGE the FIRST* a milder sway began than was known under the Plantagenets, the Tudors, or the Stuarts; the King was wise, benevolent, and merciful. The Nation was now harassed by the animosities of the Ministers; who in some instances were as corrupt toward their Country as they were implacable toward each other.

A remarkable proof of the firmness both of the King and Prince in this Reign, at an important moment, occurs in Letter CCCCXXVIII. "If my Lord Orford persist in declining the Sea-service," says Bishop Kennett, "the Prince himself will be Lord High Admiral: and if Mr. Wall be uneasy, King George has heard that King William once undertook to sit himself at the head of the Treasury board."

IN the former Series, the Letters of this Reign which concerned the Rebellion of 1715 were numerous. In the present Collection, those which relate to the King's expected arrival, the state of the Clergy in the Diocese of Tuam, the project for invading England by Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, Dr. Bentley's conduct at Cambridge when the King attended the Commencement, the effects of the South-Sea year, the panic in Ireland upon Wood's Halfpence, and the Duke of Wharton's Letter from Spain to extenuate his conduct, claim the reader's chief notice.

LETTER CCCCXX.

Dr. White Kennett, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, to Dr. Samuel Blackwell. King George the First expected from Hanover. The Queen's Interment ordered. Divisions of Interest upon, and Applications for Church Preferment.

[MS. LANSD. 1013. fol. 198. Orig.]

DEAR SIR,

SINCE my last nothing of moment has occurred, but what you hear sufficiently by all the public papers. All things are quiet, and all persons seem to be under no other impatience but that of expecting the new King. The day of his setting out from Hanover was fixed to Wednesday last, but advices since have adjourned it *sine die*, upon occasion of interview with the Court of Prussia, of advising some affairs with the Emperor, of better ordering his Government and Family that he leaves behind, and of being himself a little indisposed by eating too freely of melons.

Most agree in his motion at the beginning of next week, and expect to hear of his coming to the Hague about the end of it, and of his arrival here the week following. ^a

The Lords Justices have agreed on a form or manner of Entry, of which we know no step but that lodgings

^a The King and Prince arrived at the Hague Sept. 12th. 1714.

are preparing for the King and Court at Greenwich, by which it is presumed he will come up the river and land there, and after a night or two will go by barge to the Tower, or by land to St. George's Fields, and so in a very solemn procession through the City.^a

The Queen's body is to be carried from Kensington this night to the Prince's Chamber, to be interred on Tuesday night,^b according to an Order this day published by the Earl Marshal.

There is an unhappy division of interest and applications for the vacant See of Ely. The first motion was by the Lord Treasurer for his kinsman the Bishop of Oxford: a second by the Lord Not. for his brother the Dean of York: some of the Regents (perhaps wisely) for translating the Bishop of London to that richer See, and filling the City with a man more agreeable to them and the Court: and, at last, many for Mr. Hill, and he in earnest for himself, though in the habit and life of a layman for about thirty years past. The Archbishop is too sensible of these contrasts, and complains of the ill impression of them upon his own mind: though with submission (as one told him) owing in great measure to his forbearing to declare his own judgment: for if he had pleased to tell the other justices at first, that he intended to recommend the Bishop of St. Asaph, I believe nobody would have set up any thought of competition.

^a The royal Entry from Greenwich through London, was on Sept. 20th.

^b See the Solemnization of the Queen's Interment at Westminster, August the 24th. in the Gazette.

There is likewise great soliciting for the Canonry of Christ Church and Hebrew Professorship, vacant by the death of Dr. Altham. It is said the late Lord Treasurer had promised it to his chaplain Mr. Simón Ockley. The Christ Church men are said to be most desirous of Dr. Wells, and he has sent up a Letter to the Bishop of Lincoln which I know was laid before his Grace on Thursday last, but, I presume, no agreeable man. Dr. Pelling, Chaplain to the Speaker, would have the best title to the Canonry if he understood Hebrew. The greatest master of that tongue, and other Orientals, is Mr. Clavering, one of his Grace's chaplains, lately by him preferred to the Deanery of Bocking, which has made way to Mr. Ibbetson of Oriel to succeed him as Chaplain at Lambeth.

The French King's rejecting the importunities of the Pretender is an argument of his good faith or great necessity. The barbarous dragooning of our merchants will extort satisfaction, at least, in a free Parliament. We long to hear of the fate of the brave Barcelonians. The last we heard (poor souls) was their hanging out a black flag with a death's head upon it, to signify by that token that they would sooner die than surrender. We are afraid the French will take the ruins of that City by storm, before they can hear of our good intentions to relieve them. If a miracle of God's Providence preserve them, it may give a new turn to Sicily and the whole Kingdom of Spain.

Stock is very high, and all people in good spirit.

None to all appearance more sanguine than they who would be still called Tories. They, forsooth, adhered to the Protestant Succession. They are most forward to go out and meet the King. They, by their principles, have been always for the Church and the Crown. They are the surest friends of the Prerogative, and they, if we believe them, are the majority of the Nation, and can command a new Parliament.

The pulpits in and about London have not been so modest as one would have expected at such a juncture. It is certain that Dr. Wells has preached ever since the demise with a double *entendre*, and with an eye directly on another King. Dr. Sach.^a has vehemently reflected on the Duke of Marlborough's public entry, and called it an unparalleled insolence, and a vile trampling upon royal ashes, &c. Others of better figure have so bemoaned the Queen as if Monarchy and the Church had died with her. Nay, some have challenged the faction (as they call them) to tell where is the Pretender, or where is the danger of him! as if his not coming now were an argument that he never meant it.

This day the Lord Chancellor read one Speech in the name of the Regents, and the Speaker made another very good one in the name of the Commons upon the money bill for the Civil List, and so both Houses adjourned to, I think, this day se'nnight.

It is supposed the King will be inclined to commit

^a Sacheverell.

ecclesiastical Preferments to a Commission of Archbishops and Bishops, to deliver himself from unreasonable importunities of that kind. My own concern, I think, will be to contract myself to a more private life, being abundantly satisfied that our public Affairs are upon a better bottom, and the Church and Nation more safe and flourishing, and hopes of a better balance of power in Europe and a better regard to the Protestant interest abroad. I pray God grant it.

Your very affectionate friend,

WIL. KENNETT.

Aug. 21, 1714.

These

To the Reverend Mr. Samuel Blackwell, B. D. Rector of Brampton, in Northamptonshire, near Harborough.

LETTER CCCCXXI.

Archbishop King to Archbishop Wake. The Prince of Wales, afterwards King George II^d. chosen Chancellor of the University of Dublin.

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 6117. p. 2.]

Dublin, Feb. 16th. 1715.

May it please your Grace,

I SHOULD have congratulated the Church and your

Grace on your Translation to the See of Canterbury, but a severe fit of the gout, rheumatism, and cholic has disabled me near four months from writing.

* * * * *

This is only to acquaint your Grace that the University here are come to a very good temper, and, as an instance of it, they have this day unanimously elected his Highness the Prince for their Chancellor; which is not a matter of mere form, but of great influence, and gives him a very great power over them.

I must entreat your Grace's favour in their behalf, and that you would use your interest with his Highness to take this in good part, and prevail with him to receive them into his favour and protection.

The University intend to send it over by some of their own Body in the most respectful manner, as soon as the Instrument is prepared.^a

This had been done sooner, but could not well, by reason of the absence of two of the Fellows that were in England, and came over purposely to expedite the matter.

I hope this will have a good effect on the Church here and whole Kingdom. I add no more at present but my most hearty prayer for your Grace's health and

^a The Provost and Dr. Howard, one of the senior Fellows, were subsequently sent by their Body to present the Instrument of Election to the Prince.

success in your great charge in which God hath placed you, and that I am, with the utmost respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most humble servant,

WILL. DUBLIN.

LETTER CCCCXXII.

Archbishop King to Archbishop Wake, after the death of the Archbishop of Tuam. State of the Clergy in his Diocese. The "Quarta pars Episcopalis."

[MS. DONAT. BRIT. MUS. 6117. page 5.]

Dublin, March 29th. 1716.

May it please your Grace,

THOUGH I am disabled by a return of the gout in my right hand, yet I rather choose to make use of another's, than omit acquainting your Grace with what I think to be of moment to the Church. It has pleased God to make the Archbishoprick of Tuam vacant, by removing out of this world Dr. Vesey the Archbishop thereof, who died yesterday morning. The state of that Diocese is very lamentable, there not being a score of beneficed Clergymen in it. Several of them are non-resident, and all of them very ill provided; which

proceeds from three causes. The first of which is Impropropriations. The second is want of a legal settlement of the tithes and other dues of the Clergy. Before the Reformation they had a certain portion out of every thing which the people used for the support or conveniency of life ; as for example, a gallon out of every brewing of drink, and so on other occasions ; and for every such offering they had a peculiar name ; and these continued to be demanded and exacted, in a great measure, till the Restoration of the Royal Family. But in the 18^h year of the reign of King Charles the Second, they were all taken away by act of parliament under the notion of being barbarous customs, and an equivalent promised the Clergy for them ; but that equivalent was never yet given them ; nor do they pay tithe of any thing but grain and wool, and in some places of hay. Now that country being most of it a grazing country, and stocked with black cattle, it yields a clergyman but a small pittance. The third reason of the Clergy's poverty in that Diocese proceeds from what they call *Quarta Pars Episcopalis*, by which the Bishop has the fourth part of all the tithes in most parishes. The Impropropriator then having in most places one half, and the Bishop one fourth, your Grace may easily imagine in what a miserable condition the Clergy must be, that have but a fourth part of the tithes, and the tithes so uncertain.

I do find that in the North of Ireland the Bishops

had a third part, the Clergy a third, and certain Lay Rectors or Farmers (called) another third part: but, on the forfeiture of Tyrone, King James the First, in the six Counties escheated by that rebellion to the Crown, gave the forfeited tithes to the clergy and the forfeited fee-farms of land to the Bishops, in lieu of the tithes, and likewise settled a Tithing Table, according to which tithes are paid to this day: and both Bishops and Clergy are well provided for in those counties.

But in Connaught things stood upon the old foot till the time that the Earl of Strafford was chief Governor of Ireland, who began to look into the state of the Church there, and found that the bishops had made away their lands in fee-farms; and a very small pittance was left to maintain their successors. The Archbishoprick of Tuam was reduced to £160 per annum. But upon farther inspection into the fee-farms, it was found that many of them were forfeited, or the proprietors' title to them defective in law; upon which the fee-farms were seized, and restored to their respective Sees, upon condition that the Bishops should give up the *Quarta Pars* of the tithes to the Clergy. This was an advantageous change to both: and accordingly the Bishops of Elphin and Killala made their resignations, their *Quarta Pars* was settled upon their clergy, and they enjoy it to this day. The Archbishop of Tuam did the like; and his resignation was on the

road to Dublin. But the wars broke out in 1641, and stopped it on the way; for I do not find that it ever came to Dublin.

On the Restoration, a very old man, and a great sufferer for the Royal Cause, being made Archbishop of Tuam, the *Quarta Pars* came into consideration: and on account of his great age and merit, it was agreed that he should hold it during his incumbency, which they concluded could not be long. His next successor had the same plea, and was likewise suffered to enjoy it.

In the year 1679, the then Archbishop being translated to Dublin, Dr. Vesey, the now deceased archbishop, then Bishop of Limerick, was named for Tuam; upon which the Clergy bestirred themselves and petitioned the Chief Governor and Council for their equitable right to it; that the archbishop had resigned as well as the other bishops, and had his equivalent, which was much more valuable than the *Quarta Pars*; that by the Act of Settlement the dispositions made in favour of the Clergy by the Earl of Strafford were confirmed; and that hitherto they had been debarred of the benefit thereof by the power of the Archbishops, and the favour shewed them by the Government. This Petition was very favourably received by the then Chief Governor and Council; for they had been several times promised that, on the first Remove, restitution should be made them. They were then well able to

prove the resignation ; and the equivalent is still enjoyed by his successors. The Archbishop, finding that the Cause was like to go against him, made haste to his bishoprick ; and calling the clergy together, dealt so effectually with them, that he brought them to a compromise, and prevailed with them to recall their Agent, and let their Petition drop ; which was done on these terms to the best of my memory. The Wardenship of Galway was in the hands of a very old man, one Dr. Vaughan, brother to the Lord Chief Justice Vaughan ; and the Archbishop did agree with the Clergy, that he would use his interest with the Government to procure that in Commendam when it fell, and then that he would give up the *Quarta Pars* to them. The Wardenship soon fell, and he got it in commendam ; and then entered into a new treaty with the Clergy, and got them to consent that he should hold the *Quarta Pars* during his incumbency ; and by this agreement he has held it about thirty-four years. I am told there is some reference to this agreement in the Patent, but I have not yet got a sight of it. As soon as I do, I shall be able to give your Grace a more certain information.

In the mean time I think it necessary to acquaint your Grace with the nature of this Wardenship. There was in Galway, before the Reformation, a Collegiate Church with a Warden, and a certain number of vicars. The endowment, if I remember right, was nine appro-

priated country parishes. On the Reformation this College was granted to the town of Galway, to whom the election of Warden was granted ; but is now looked upon to be in the Crown by the forfeiture of 1641. The value is reckoned to be less than £200. The Care of the Town and the Parishes is to be supported out of this ; by which your Grace may perceive how improper a fund this was to support the cure of the town, and how much more improper such a cure is for a Commendam. The Town is populous ; most Papists in it ; several Nunneries and Frieries ; and we have not been able, with all our laws, to suppress them utterly.

I have now laid the case as full as I can, at present, before your Grace. And, the favour I am to entreat of your Grace is, to interpose, and not to suffer the Archbishoprick to be disposed of till the matter of the *Quarta Pars* and Wardenship be settled ; the miserable state of that Diocese absolutely requiring it.

The only objection that can be made against it is, the smallness of the revenue of the Archbishoprick. I have not yet got a rent-roll, but soon shall, and will transmit it to your Grace ; and I believe when the cheapness of the country is considered, and the difference of the expenses attending the archbishoprick of Dublin, that the Archbishoprick of Tuam, with the Bishoprick of Kilfenora that goes along with it, may, in proportion, be very near as good (though perhaps not sufficient to tempt one of your clergy who despairs

of preferment at home, to intrude into his poor Brother's pittance, and defraud him of his expectation).

We have but about six hundred beneficed Clergymen in Ireland; and perhaps of these hardly two hundred have £100 per annum: and for you to send your supernumeraries to be provided out of the best of these, does look too like the rich man in Nathan's parable.

Your Grace's predecessor was well apprized of the state of the Poor Clergy of Ireland, and had great regard to them, particularly in this matter. And I hope when your Grace is fully apprized of the state of this Church, your Grace will be of his opinion. In the mean time, if your Grace will be pleased to look upon the life of Bishop Bramhall before his Works, it may be of some use to enable your Grace to frame some notion of our condition.

I heartily pray for your Grace's health and happiness; and am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most humble servant,

WILL. DUBLIN.

I am afraid an Act of Parliament may be necessary to settle the business of the Quarta Pars; for, though thirty-six years ago the resignation could be proved, yet by the death of witnesses, and the burning of the records in the Council Chamber, I doubt whether we could now make legal proof upon a trial; and perhaps an Archbishop, when once invested, may bring it to that.

LETTER CCCCXXIII.

*Bishop Kennett to Mr. Samuel Blackwell. The King's
preparations to go to Hanover.*

[MS. LANSD. 1013. fol. 213. Orig.]

* * * * *

HIS Majesty's Voyage though not expressly yet declared, is, I think, sufficiently understood, and I suppose will be communicated to the two Houses this next week. The retinue is not fixed, but by common report his Majesty will be attended by three clergymen, Dr. Torriano as deputy clerk of the closet, and the dean of Winchester Dr. Wickart, and Dr. Menard or his brother, as chaplains, who have all been travellers, and are good masters of the French tongue. The Regency will be sole in the Prince,^a with an assisting Council.

* * * * *

June 9th. 1716.

^a The Prince of Wales was constituted Guardian of the Kingdom and his Majesty's Lieutenant during his absence beyond sea, July 6th. 1716. His Majesty embarked at Gravesend, the same day, for Holland, where he landed on the 9th. and proceeded directly to Pylmont in Germany.

LETTER CCCCXXIV.

Dr. White Kennett to Mr. Blackwell. 'The Princess of Wales has a severe confinement.

[MS. LANSD. 1013. fol. 202. *Orig.*]

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED yours this week, and thought to have sent you a large Letter by this post, but the melancholy impressions of fear and suspense for the good Princess take away all other thoughts at present. I am now in waiting at Court, and left it shut up on all sides this afternoon. The good Princess had the symptoms of labour on Sunday evening, and 'tis thought might have been safely delivered of a living son that night, or any time before Tuesday morning, if Sir David Hamilton or Dr. Chamberlayne, who attended without, might have been admitted to her; but the Hanover midwife kept up the aversion of the Princess to have any man about her, and so, notwithstanding the importunity of the English ladies and the declared advice of the Lords of the Council, she continued in pains till Friday morning between one and two,^a when the midwife alone delivered [her] of a dead male Child wounded in the head. She has since been extremely weak and subject to continual faintings, and 'tis said all things

^a Nov. 9th. 1716.

are not after the manner of women in that condition. This afternoon, about four, the Lord Belhaven, in waiting on the Prince, came out of the women's chamber, and told me the Princess had been asleep for about an hour, and was more easy after it, and had no return of her fainting fits. But we are every minute in sorrowful apprehensions; and God knows what may be the news before I seal up this.

Your affectionate friend,

WH. KENNETT.

Saturday, 6 at night, 1716.

P.S. Nine at night. Sending frequently to St. James's, the last account is more comfortable, that her Royal Highness is somewhat better and if this night past well over, there will be great hopes of her doing well.

To the Rev. Mr. Samuel Blackwell, B.D. Rector of Brampton, near Harborough, Northamptonshire.

LETTER CCCCXXV.

Bishop Kennett to the Rev. Mr. Blackwell. King George the First's intention to make a Progress to Yorkshire. Trials of the Rebels.

[MS. LANSD. 1013. fol. 204. Orig.]

* * * * *

IF common report and general belief be good authority, the King has deferred his thoughts of going abroad, and intends to make a Progress to Yorkshire about the end of July; to stay awhile at the Lord Burlington's, and drink of the neighbouring Spau. It is most likely his road will lead through Northampton and Harborough, or at least Althorp and Bowden, &c. I presume the clergy of your diocese will in a body wait upon his Majesty with some Address * *

* * * * *

It is said that Mr. Gascoyne, one of the Preston rebels now in Newgate, offers to make up such evidence as will be sufficient to bring some of the Tower Prisoners to Trial. The other trials are, in course, depending, and, after all provocations, the examples of Mercy will very much exceed those of Justice.

This is all I recollect at present, but that in general the King's interest and honour rise higher every day,

and to pray for his life includes all other public happiness.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your very affectionate friend and kinsman,

WH. KENNETT.

To the Rev. Mr. Samuel Blackwell, Bampton, near Harborough, Northamptonshire.

LETTER CCCCXXVI.

The same to the same. The Princess recovered.

[MS. LANSD. 1013. fol. 208. Orig.]

* * * * *

THE Princess is in a very safe condition; the long depending labour, and the loss of a fine Prince upon it, made a great ruffle at Court. The persisting of the midwife that she wanted no other help, has put the English ladies out of all good opinion of her; and the unwillingness of Sir David Hamilton to interpose without express command, brought on him severe expostulations and rebukes from the women, and particularly from good Mrs. Wake. He is most concerned that the Archbishop, in tenderness to the Princess, should tell him that he neglected his duty to the Public.

* * * * *

Nov. 24, 1716.

LETTER CCCCXXVII.

*Dr. Kennett to the Rev. Mr. Blackwell. The King
returned from Hanover.*

[MS. LANSD. 1013. fol. 215. Orig.]

* * * * *

THE noise of joy in the streets is just now so great, that I must be very short not to be interrupted by it. Other accounts by this post will tell you that the King landed last night safe at Margate, that the Prince and many Nobles are gone out to meet him on the Kentish road, and hope to conduct him this evening to St. James's. My account (if it fail not) would add that my Lord Townshend will be received with as good humour in himself, and as gracious a countenance from the King as any other subject whatsoever: and that no one change will be made in favour of the Tories, but still the same wise and steady administration. Only if any of the Whigs, so called, grow peevish and unreasonable, he will deal with them as with any Tories, give them their lives, that's all. So far as he been used abroad to govern by his own prudence and integrity, and so far will he apply those noble virtues here in the strictest regard to our Laws and Constitution, as well as to his own honour and true interest.

Your affectionate friend,

Sat. Jan. 19, 1716-17.

WH. KENNETT.

LETTER CCCCXXVIII.

Dr. White Kennett to Dr. Blackwell. Project of Charles XIIth. of Sweden for the Invasion of England. The Court quiet.

[MS. LANSD. 1013. fol. 217. *Orig.*]

* * *Much has been cut out from the original of this letter.*

* * * * *

WE have been here under a new alarm. It is no longer a doubt that the Rebels have been driving at another push, and have concerted with another King to meet him in the North. He to invade with twenty thousand, and they, good folks, to join him with twenty thousand more: and so to restore King James, and so to return to Sweden, and so all things to be well. This project indeed has been swimming in the heads of the Jacobites a long while, and they made no great secret of their hopes and expectations. Yet we thought a mad party could never find so mad a Prince. But so 'tis, the desperate Cause has at last met with a suitable undertaker; and the tables are really turned from a descent upon Schonen,^a to a reverse upon Scotland.

* * * * *

It will have one good influence upon great minds, and teach them not to draw and fight among themselves

^a Whither Charles XIIth. had retired from Stralsund.

in the face of the enemy. That discretion appears already. The Court seems quiet, and the prime minister is the King, and they are his only favourites who can and will be his best assistants: if not, they may go and help themselves.

If my Lord Orford persist in declining the sea-service, the Prince himself will be Lord High Admiral: and if Mr. Wall be uneasy, King George has heard that King William once undertook to sit himself at the head of the Treasury board. My Lord Townshend has conquered others' humours and commanded his own resentments, and has not only submitted to accept the government of Ireland, in name and title, but begins to do business, and to keep his levees for that Kingdom. Lord Sunderland is thought to be at the head of all Councils, but with no distinguishing yet at least. What truth in the rumours of Grace, and Garter, and young Lady, I don't know.

The worst consequences are, no reducing the Army nor the Taxes in the present juncture. Necessity must be the superior law. Otherwise, I dare say, the event of things will be, that the Jacobite faction rebel against the Providence of God, and by his wisdom and goodness are bringing about their own destruction and our only safety.

* * * * *

Your faithful friend and kinsman,

Febr. 2, 1716-17.

WH. KENNETT.

LETTER CCCCXXIX.

The same to the same.

[IBID. fol. 220. Orig.]

* * * * *

WE have had uneasy convulsions and strange attempts toward a confusion among us, nor can our greatest men yet agree among themselves who shall be and shall not be the Prime Ministers. And yet amidst these divisions at home we are daily threatened with invasion from abroad, though certainly we are so well prepared against it, that the King of Sweden, who was so desperate to project it, must have much more enthusiasm in him to put it in execution.

* * * * *

March 16, 1716-17.

LETTER CCCCXXX.

*Dr. Kennett to Mr. Blackwell. The King of Sweden
a less bugbear.*

[IBID. fol. 222. Orig.]

* * * * *

THE King of Sweden is every day a less bugbear to us; not that we have any advice of his letting fall the

intended expedition, or diverting it elsewhere. And I think we are so well prepared, that he had better come once than be always a-coming.

* * * *

LETTER CCCCXXXI.

*Dr. Kennett to Mr. Blackwell. Bangorian Controversy.
King George the First.*

[IBID. fol. 224. Orig.]

* * * *

I CAN send you no news but that the paper war about the Bishop of Bangor draws a dreadful deal of ink, black and bitter. The cry is more than the wool on either side. I wish the first word had been spared, for I do not know when the last will be given.

As to Parliament, after some convulsions, the Session seems to be drawing to a quiet end. The trial I suppose to be reserved to another meeting. Amidst all disputes and personal piques of Ministers, new and old, I am fixed in this opinion, that King George is one of the honestest men, and one of the wisest Princes in the world. And such a Prince, at the head of a good cause, will support it and be supported by it.

* * * *

June 8th. 1717.

LETTER CCCCXXXII.

Dr. Kennett to Mr. Blackwell. General News.

[IBID. fol. 228. Orig.]

* * * * *

YOUR Physician Sir David Hamilton is gone to the Bath for some weeks; to be down again before the expectation of the Princess, who returns to St. James's about the end of September to lie-in there.

* * * * *

This place is empty of all people of fashion; and I have very little conversation with men that know any thing of the Court, where all things are said to be well and easy, and to promise peace and happiness; but let things be never so well administered, there will be discontents and murmurs among those people that want places, and especially among those that want the Pretender.

The glorious Victory of Prince Eugene over the Turks, and the taking of Belgrade, and the extending of conquests farther, is a just cause of joy to all good people; and, amongst other good effects, will hasten a Peace in the North if the King of Sweden will listen to any reasonable terms; and will be an immediate check to the perfidious attempts of some Catholic Powers to disturb the Emperor while engaged against

the common enemy ; and will prevent our being drawn into another war.

* * * * *

James-Street, Westminster,

Aug. 31, 1717.

LETTER CCCXXXIII.

Dr. Kennett to Mr. Blackwell. The Princess near her Confinement.

[IBID. fol. 232. *Orig.*]

SIR David Hamilton was called to Hampton Court, and is now set upon the watch in St. James's Palace, for every minute of call or question from the Princess.

* * * * *

Octob. 5, 1717.

LETTER CCCXXXIV.

The same to the same.

[IBID. fol. 236. *Orig.*]

* * * * *

YOUR Physician Sir David Hamilton has very much

improved his interest at Court upon occasion of the good Princess's delivery of a son: for though he did not assist in the immediate moments, yet, by the ignorance or humour of the same midwife, her Royal Highness was so slow in the calls of Nature, and so far going into convulsive faintings, that there was great danger of her life and the child's, if Sir David had not prescribed some raising medicines that brought on regular and effectual pains, and a speedy safe delivery. I congratulate with you the public blessing.

The last fortnight of October I spent at Hampton Court, as called to wait there a little out of time. I saw as much Royal goodness and noble hospitality as an honest heart could wish. But Courts and Crowns have so many cares and troubles appendant to them, that I begin to affect privacy, and to love my own studies more and more.

Parties are struggling to meet the next Session, and to contend, as the custom is, for places, rather than for any other cause. But the King is so gracious and wise, that he will if possible reconcile enemies without forsaking friends.

* * * * *

Your very affectionate
friend and kinsman,

WIL. KENNETT.

James-Street, Westminster,

Novemb. 16, 1717.

LETTER CCCCXXXV.

Dr. Thomas Tudway to Mr. Humphry Wanley, Lord Oxford's Librarian. Dr. Bentley's behaviour when the King went to Cambridge.

[MS. HARL. 3779. fol. 59. *Orig.*]

I GAVE you an account before of Bentley's baulks and blunders about the King's reception here; since which he has met with two pretty remarkable ones. The first was wherein I was concerned. There was a grace put up for a gratification for me, for my care and pains at the reception of the King in King's College Chapel; this Bentley maliciously opposed, in spite, because we had wrested that solemnity out of his hands, who would have had it at his own Chapel; but this was carried against him and the whiggish crew, by a sufficient majority. The Monday following (the day that the Masters were at Wimple,^a and Mr. Jefferys staid there, and Mr. Prior who had been at Cambridge but for them) being the day that we choose a Vice-Chancellor, Bentley, with a reinforcement of devils, almost as wicked as himself, returned to the charge. The two heads pricked were Dr. Gooch, and Dr. Bradford commonly called Tadpole; but the

^a Wimpole.

Master of Caius carried it by a greater majority than before.

Nov. 9th. 1717.

LETTER CCCCXXXVI.

The same to the same. Still upon Dr. Bentley.

[IBID. fol. 77.]

* * * * *

You know Bentley and his communication, and therefore there needs nothing more to be said on that head. You have heard already the noise his exaction made at King George's Commencement of Four Guineas for every Doctor of Divinity which he created, otherwise he refused to create them. They all paid it but a few, but with great reluctance, and thereupon he promised that if that matter ever came to be determined against him he would refund. The Chancellor gave it against him. So has the Vice-Chancellor, and the Heads. Hereupon Dr. Middleton, one of the aggrieved, and lately one of the fellows of Trinity College, demands of him his four Guineas, which he refusing to repay, Dr. Middleton sues him in the Vice-Chancellor's Court. He making no appearance to the Suit, the

Vice-Chancellor sends a decree to arrest him, which is executed always by one of the beadles. He went to his lodge and told him his business, and showed him his authority. He desired Mr. Clark the beadle to let him see it, which he refused to do out of his own hand ; but making protestations upon honour to restore it, he gave it him, which he like a true Benteian, and like his *bonâ fide*, put into his pocket, and added, like an overgrown school-boy, which is his just character, “ I told you I would give it you again, but I did not say when.” Hereupon the Vice-Chancellor, who has behaved with great courage and resolution, granted another decree ; but my gentleman would not then be found ; and while the beadle waited in one of his rooms for him, he sent Ashenhurst and others of his creatures, who mocked and insulted, and asked him what he did there. He told them that he must speak with the Master. They told him the Master could not be spoke with, and bid him come out, which he refused to do till he had delivered his message. Hereupon they locked him in, and made him a prisoner two or three hours. This insult upon the authority of the University, with a thousand other insolent speeches, defying the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, and at all times and occasions behaving himself with the greatest contempt, and speaking reproachfully of every body that he had any concern with ; the Vice-Chancellor, like a brave magistrate, those things being all drawn

up into kind of articles, and affidavit being made of them, summoned a Court, and all these insolences being again read and repeated and swore to, the Vice-Chancellor pronounced him suspended from all his Degrees, and sent him word further, that if he did not, on the next Court-day, appear and make his submission, and acknowledge his offence, he would deprive him of his Professorship and declare it void. What a struggle must there needs be now betwixt Bentley's pride and his interest ! Some say one will make him submit, and others are of the mind that he will risk all. However, Monday or Tuesday the Vice-Chancellor designs to have a Court, and then we shall see the devil pluck in his horns.

Your affectionate and obliged
friend and servant,

THO. TUDWAY.

I forgot to tell you that six or eight of the Heads were the Vice-Chancellor's Assessors upon the Bench, and assenting to this execution of Bentley's.

LETTER CCCCXXXVII.

Archbishop King to Archbishop Wake. The Differences at Court.

[MS. DONAT. 6117. p. 99.]

Dublin, Jan. 11th. 1717.

* * * * *

I AM perfectly at a loss as to any knowledge of what passes at Court, and am heartily sorry to find your Grace seems so much a stranger there. I am afraid your Grace is only Bishop of Canterbury. If the whole world had consulted together to find an effectual way to make a faction irreconcilable, I cannot imagine they could have invented a more infallible, than to hinder all conversation or common civilities among partisans. And whoever invented or advised that prohibition was surely his crafts-master. How can it be expected that ever persons should come to a good understanding between themselves, when common friends are not allowed to be common friends, but all obliged to declare themselves mutual enemies.

I pity your Grace and others that are sincere to his Majesty, who, I fear, are neither at liberty to speak your minds, nor do your duties. For aught I find, we generally are of one mind here as to that affair, and

speaking the same way, bemoaning the fatal circumstances, and pleasing ourselves only in this, that we are at a distance from it.

But, as your Grace observes, the mischief will certainly in the event reach us if it continue, and I doubt it will all Europe. Pray God prevent the effects of it. But is there nobody that dares deal with the parties as Joab did with David, when he found him engaged in a practice that disgusted and shamed all his friends? I pray God that there be not the same necessity for such a freedom of advice in this exigent as there was in that affair; and that there may not want those that will give it with the same boldness.

* * * * *

Your Grace's most humble and
obedient servant,

WILL. DUBLIN.

LETTER CCCXXXVIII.

*Archbishop King to Archbishop Wake. Still upon
the Court differences.*

[MS. DONAT. 6117. p. 101.]

Dublin, Feb. 6th. 1717.

* * * * *

I do not know any body that has a more difficult

game to play than your Grace in the present circumstances : and I think 'tis rather more difficult by reason the liberty is allowed you to visit the Princess. More may be expected from your Grace by both parties than is in your power ; and every thing you do or say will be inquired into ; and ten to one but misrepresented.

I am of opinion this breach will be made up ; but I doubt 'twill be with great slaughter of favourites on both sides.

Your Grace's most obedient servant
and brother,

WILL. DUBLIN.

LETTER CCCXXXIX.

*Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake: details his
Journey to take possession of the See of Derry.*

[MS. DONAT. MUS. BRIT. 6116. p. 121.]

Londonderry, June 24, 1718.

My very good Lord,

I HAD the honour of your Grace's letter of the 10th. just as I was leaving Dublin this day se'nnight, and about an hour after I had sent to the post my last letter for Lambeth. The Archbishop of Dublin did not

come home whilst I staid in town, which bereft me of the opportunity of getting his particular informations concerning the state of his quondam diocese of Derry, which his singular courtesy would not have suffered him to withhold. I was also forced to come away without personal assent to my licence of return to my family, and of continuing in England till May next; which favour I readily obtained from the other two Lords Justices.

They were also pleased to grant me a guard of dragoons, with whom I travelled in great security through a country said to be much infested with a set of barbarous and pilfering Tories. I saw no danger of losing the little money I had; but was under some apprehensions of being starved: having never beheld even in Picardy, Westphalia, or Scotland, such dismal marks of hunger and want as appeared in the countenances of most of the poor creatures that I met with on the road. The wretches lie in reeky sod-hovels; and have generally no more than a rag of coarse blanket to cover a small part of their nakedness. Upon the strictest inquiry, I could not find that they are better clad or lodged in the winter season. These sorry slaves plough the ground to the very top of their mountains, for the service of their lords; who spend truly rack rents, as somebody supposed those of this diocese would be spent, in London. A ridge or two of potatoes is all the poor tenant has for the support of himself, a wife, and com-

monly ten or twelve bare-legged children. To complete their misery, these animals are bigoted Papists; and we frequently met them trudging to some ruined church or chapel, either to mass, a funeral, or a wedding, with a priest in the same habit with themselves.

I was pretty curious, my Lord, in inquiring after the temporal state of my Metropolitan, our Primate; but had not the satisfaction of finding that his revenue was so great as it had been represented to your Grace. I went through all the apartments of his chief Palace at Drogheda; which is so far from meriting a comparison with Lambeth, that I can modestly aver my successor will find a better house in Rose Castle. His Grace comes so seldom there, and so little fuel has been spent in it of late, that I should be as much afraid of living there as I am of bringing my family into one somewhat better in this town.

Hither I came in much more pomp than I wish for, last Saturday in the evening. The Chancellor of the diocese (Dr. Jenkins, cotemporary with my Lord of York at St. John's in Oxford) brought me to his house on the road, at ten miles' distance; where I was met by the neighbouring clergy, the two citizens in Parliament, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, &c. who all accompanied me to my lodging. The next morning I was enthroned by the Dean; and have been every day since regaled and feasted by some great man or other. Yesterday the Bishop of Raphoe and I were

complimented with the dignity of Freemen; and after he left us, the Corporation gave a splendid entertainment, in their Guildhall, to me and all the clergy in town.

These joys are exceedingly damped by the account your Grace gives of your continuing indisposed.

* * * * *

I am ever your Grace's most obliged
and dutiful servant,

W. DERRY.

LETTER CCCCL.

Jos. Wilcocks to Bishop Kennett, from Hanover. An Account of what was passing there during the King's Visit in 1720.

[MS. LANSD. 1038. fol. 81. Orig.]

MY LORD,

I RECKON this will have the honour to wait on you in the country, and I flatter myself that a visitor from Hanover, which is at present the great theme of consultation, will not be unwelcome to your Lordship. It was some time before we had any occurrences here worth communicating; his Majesty being gone to Pyrmont and my Lord Stanhope to Berlin, here was for several weeks but a very thin Court at Herrenhausen.

Since the King's return from the waters, which agreed very well with him, we have had a great appearance of strangers, especially foreign ministers. The King of Prussia has paid a visit here of about ten days: he has a brisk enterprising look, wears a short waistcoat, narrow hat, and broad sword, and has his own hair tied back, and obliges all his soldiers and the officers of his army to do the like; and because his army is clothed in blue, he generally wears the same colour himself.

The Duke of York^a came hither soon after his Majesty's return from Pymont, and designs to stay with him till he goes to the Gohre; he is a very obliging affable Prince; I have the honour sometimes of discoursing with him, and he has asked me a great many questions about his nieces, the young Princesses, and their education. His revenue, as Bishop of Osnabruck, is about 100,000 crowns per annum.

Prince Frederick was for some months indisposed, he had a trembling on his nerves, which put him much out of order, but it is now above six weeks that he has had no return of it, so that 'tis hoped it has quite left him. His behaviour is very manly; he speaks English pretty well; I have the honour often to dine and sup with his Highness, and can assure your Lordship that he is in all respects a well accomplished, and very fine youth.

^a Ernest Augustus Prince of Brunswick Lunenburgh, the brother of King George the First, was created Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster, June 29th. 1716. He was also bishop of Osnaburgh.

I have the pleasure to acquaint your Lordship, as I am told by very good hands I may, that the affair of Religion is likely to take a good turn in the Empire and be amicably accommodated. My Lord Stanhope's concern for the Protestant interest in general, is accompanied with a very exemplary behaviour at Hanover, we have a Chapel in the Court, where his Lordship has never yet failed of coming on Sundays with his family, and my congregation is now pretty considerable.

I do not find there is any thing considerable printing either at Leipsic or Helmstadt, except Keppler's works in the former, in several volumes folio, by the Emperor's encouragement, they talk of collecting Mr. Leibnitz's pieces, but it is not certain when they will be published. The quality and gentry of this country taking to the sword, learning is in no great credit; the superintendants have generally but small incomes, but the Abbot of Lockum, who is the first ecclesiastic in the Duchy of Hanover, has about £1500 sterling per annum: he is near ninety years old, but holds as fast as the Bishop of Durham.^a

Sir G. Byng, his two sons, and Captain Saunders arrived here the other day from Italy, and have been very graciously received. The King is mightily pleased with a new jette d'eau in Herrenhausen gardens made by one Andrews an Englishman, and which throws

^a Nathaniel Lord Crew became bishop of Durham in 1674. He died Sept. 12th. 1721, aged eighty-eight.

up a great quantity of water about sixty feet high. The Palace at Hanover is better than St. James's, and the Gardens at Herrenhausen larger than those at Kensington. Here is a public Library but not extraordinary, the best in this country is that of Wolfenbittel, where it is said there are abundance of Manuscripts relating to the Government of Britain.

The Lutherans here, though they hold a real presence in the Eucharist, disclaim the term consubstantiation, and say it is a word of reproach thrown upon them by the reformed: however it be, as they draw no consequences of adoration or any thing like it, if it be a speculative error, it seems to be a very innocent one. The Churches of the Lutherans are adorned with pictures and images, but they use no surplice.

His Majesty continues in very good health; and I hope about two months hence to have the honour of waiting on your Lordship in London; in the mean time with respects to your good Lady and family, I am

My Lord,

Your most obedient servant,

JOS. WILCOCKS.

Hanover, Sept. 5, 1720. N. S.

DR. WILCOCKS, the writer of this Letter, was made Bishop of Gloucester in 1721, and in 1731 was translated to the See of Rochester, which he held with the Deanry of Westminster. He afterwards refused great preferment, even the archbishoprick of York; and died March 9th. 1756, aged eighty-three.

LETTER CCCCXLI.

*Dr. Nicolson, Bishop of Derry, to Archbishop Wake.
The effects of the South Sea Scheme upon Ireland.*

[MS. DONAT. 6116. p. 197.]

Londonderry, Dec. 6th. 1720.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

THE last Letter wherewith your Grace honoured me was dated November the 3^d. and came regularly about the 13th. From that day we have not had one word of Advice out of England till this morning, when nine Packets arrived together, and brought us the first sure notice of his Majesty's safe return, for which we are this minute giving solemn thanks in ringing of bells, bonfires, &c. This is a cheerful scene when compared with the gloominess which has been upon all our faces for some months past: and I am afraid the darkness will yet thicken. Our trade of all kinds is at a stand, insomuch that our most eminent merchants who used to pay bills of £1000 at sight, are hardly able to raise £100 in so many days. Spindles of yarn (our daily bread) are fallen from half a crown to fifteen pence; and every thing else in proportion. Our best beef (as good as I ever eat in England) is sold under three

farthings a pound. And all this not from any extraordinary plenty of commodities, but from a perfect dearth of money.

If Mr. Walpole, or any other wise man, will bring the two Kingdoms out of the present plunge, he will be a meritorious patriot.

* * * * *

We feel the poverty of the town and neighbourhood of Manchester (whence we used to have an annual demand for all the yarn we could spin) as much as the inhabitants of the place can do.

* * * * *

Your Grace's most obliged,
obedient and dutiful servant,

W. DERRY.

LETTER CCCCXLII.

*Dr. King, Archbishop of Dublin, to Archbishop Wake.
Still upon the Affair of the South Sea Company.*

[MS. DONAT. 6117. p. 125.]

Dublin, Feb. 9th. 1720.

* * * * *

As to your South Sea Affair I told the fate of it last April, when it was at three hundred for one hundred,

and the event has in every particular answered my prediction, which I set down in a few queries which I shewed to my friends but would not suffer them to be printed, because I understood that whoever said any thing against the South-Sea was looked on as disaffected to the Government and Ministry, which is an accusation I would by no means lie under. I find both Houses are pretty smart on the Directors; but I hear nothing said concerning those whose office it was to prevent the ruin of the Nation. If they did see that, and suffered it when it was so very easy to prevent it, it is no hard matter to determine what they deserve. If they did not see it, they were the only blind set of men in the Kingdom, and for the future ought never to be trusted in any public business; and, beside that, chastised for meddling in the matters of which they were absolutely incapable: for surely such ought not to go unpunished. But it is now no new thing to hang little rogues and let the great escape.

* * * * *

Your Grace's

most obedient servant and brother,

WILL. DUBLIN.

LETTER CCCCXLIH.

*The Archbishop of Dublin to Archbishop Wake, upon
the same.*

[MS. DONAT. 6117. p. 127.]

Dublin, March 23, 1720.

* * * * *

I WILL say no more to your South Sea, but it has surely made us miserable to the highest degree, if starving be a misery. I lately had a petition from three hundred families concerned in the linen, silk, and woollen trade. I laid it before the Government, with another to the Justices and Council; upon which I was ordered to inquire into the truth of the matter, and thereupon I procured the several ministers, churchwardens, and other substantial citizens to go through the parishes, and to inquire and see the circumstances of the petitioners. They have done so in most parishes, and returned the names of above thirteen hundred, beside wives and children, who are all out of employment and starving, having sold every thing to get them bread. I was of opinion before, that one-third of this City needed charity; but this and other inquiries have assured me that at least one half are in this lamentable state. I have ordered a collection in every Church for

them, and engaged the Clergy to represent their case in the most effectual manner to their people, but alas ! this, and all the subscriptions I can get for them, is nothing in respect of their wants. Most of our gentry and officers, civil and military, are in England. Those that are here, cannot get their rents from their tenants. The merchants have no trade ; shop-keepers need charity ; and the cry of the whole people is loud for bread. God knows what will be the consequence. Many are starved, and I am afraid many more will.

This is an effect in a great measure of the public management. And all the satisfaction I yet see the nation are to expect, are some hard votes on some few Directors ; and not one word against those that stood by and saw them do the mischief, when they might and ought to have prevented it. And if the account we have here be true, no industry is wanting to screen the criminals ; and the inquirers are discouraged. Whether there be truth in this your Grace knows. I am sure, however, it is no service to the Government to have it reported.

We were in a miserable condition in King James's time ; but we generally had meat and drink, though with insufferable slavery and oppression : but now we have nothing of those but what we bring on ourselves, yet the poor are in danger of starving, and many have perished. The Gaols are full, not of State prisoners, as then, but of debtors.

Your Grace will pardon my giving you this trouble. The truth is, it is so great a grief to me to see so many miserable, and not to be able to relieve them, that I can hardly think, speak, or write of any thing.

Your Grace's most obedient

servant and brother,

WILL. DUBLIN.

LETTER CCCCXLIV.

*Dr. King, Archbishop of Dublin, to Archbishop Wake.
The effect of the South Sea Failure still continues
in Ireland.*

[MS. DONAT. 6117. p. 135.]

Dublin, May 15th. 1722.

* * * * *

THE present bustle gives us great uneasiness, and will help to sink this Kingdom, by putting a stop to all trade and business. Nobody will part with a farthing of money, if he can help it, till it be over. We are the more uneasy, because we know the bottom or reason of it; and people entertain wild and strange surmises concerning it, which are fed and heightened by private letters from England. We are sending off Six Regiments to assist you. One would think, considering the number of Papists we have here, that our

gentry are for the most part in England, and all our money goes there, that we should rather expect help from you in any distress, than send you Forces to protect you. Yet this is the third time we have done so since His Majesty's accession to the Throne; and withal preserved the Kingdom from any Insurrection or Rebellion; which is more than can be said for England or Scotland.

LETTER CCCCXLV.

*Dr. Nicolson, Bishop of Derry, to Archbishop Wake.
The new Irish Halfpence.*

[MS. DONAT. 6116. p. 237.]

* * The Reader need hardly be informed that, in 1722, the want of small money in Ireland had grown to such a height that even considerable manufacturers were obliged to pay their workmen with tallies or tokens of card signed upon the back, to be afterwards exchanged for money. Counterfeit coins too, called Raps, were in common use, made of such bad metal, that what passed for a halfpenny was really not worth half a Farthing. In order to remedy these evils, the King granted a patent to William Wood, Esq. the chief lessee of the mines on the crown lands, for coining and uttering Halfpence and Farthings in that Kingdom. The privilege was for the term of fourteen years, the quantity to be coined limited, and the issues to be under the inspection of a Comptroller appointed by the Crown. A rent of 800*l.* per annum was reserved to the King, and 200*l.* a year to the Comptroller. Notwithstanding these restrictions, and though the coins in weight, fineness, and execution, exceeded any which had been previously made for Ireland, the measure

became unpopular, and the prejudices of the people were so worked upon by Swift and others, that Wood was finally induced to surrender his Patent.

The Reader who would know all that passed upon the subject of this and some succeeding Letters, may consult Simon's Essay on Irish Coins, pp. 69, 70, 171; Swift's Works, vol. xv; Ruding's Annals of the Coinage of Britain, 8^{vo}. edit. vol. iii. p. 472—485; and Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

Dublin, Sept. 21st. 1722.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

THIS day the Bishop of Elphin and I had the favour of being admitted to hear the Debates of our House of Commons on (their only subject of controversy) the new Irish Halfpence. They have loaded the Patentee (W. Wood) with heavy censures; but treated His Majesty, the Lord Lieutenant, and the English Ministry, with decency. The Report from the Committee of the whole House is to be made on Monday, when an Address will be made on their several Resolutions, wherein they unanimously agree that this Kingdom would have suffered a loss of 150 per Cent by the Patentee's execution of his powers, if he had performed the conditions of his grant, and much more by his abuse of it. Dining very late with the Lord Chancellor will not admit of a fuller report from

Your Grace's most dutiful,

W. DERRY.

LETTER CCCCXLVI.

*Dr. Nicolson, Bishop of Derry, to Archbishop Wake.
Apprehension of losing all the Gold and Silver in
Ireland in exchange for Halfpence and Farthings.
Debates upon it in the Commons of that Kingdom.*

[MS. DONAT. 6116. p. 241.]

Dublin, Sept. 10th. 1723.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

By the last post I promised your Grace our Addresses to His Majesty and the Lord Lieutenant, not considering that the former cannot be published till the King's Answer is received.

What most alarms us is a general apprehension of losing all our Gold and Silver in exchange for Halfpence and Farthings of an adulterated metal; which (as is computed) will carry off above Seventy per Cent, if they are allowed to pass current.

On this topic the Commons were very warm yesterday; and their Debates ended in a Call of their Members, and the appointing a day (Friday se'nnight) for the consideration of that particular.

I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's ever faithful,

W. DERRY.

LETTER CCCXLVII.

*The same to the same. The panic in Ireland increases.
Dean Swift prints his Letters on the subject.*

[MS. DONAT. 6116. p. 264.]

London Derry, August 21st. 1724.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

'Tis an inexpressible Ferment wherein this distracted Kingdom is at this present, on account of a panic fear which we are under of being ruined by Wood's Halfpence. This Morning's Packet has brought us printed Copies of the late Report of the Committee of your Council upon this subject; which shows us what course is like to be taken. As an Antidote against this we have had two printed Letters, generally supposed to be penned by Dean Jonathan, animating all our Farmers, Shop-keepers, &c. peremptorily to refuse the acceptance of this Brass-money, by what authority soever countenanced; and (in plain terms) to shoot Mr. Wood or his accomplices through the head, whenever any of them shall dare to offer their Trash in payment here. Nay, since the coming over of the Report, most of the several Companies of Merchants, Drapers, and other Tradesmen in Dublin, have subscribed a sort of Association to this purpose. And,

since I began to write this Letter, I am told that the Merchants in this Town are, at this very time, copying after their betters. I have ventured (and a bold venture it is) to caution some of them against engaging in such a warm enterprize.

My Lord, I cannot but vehemently suspect, that this evil spirit is raised by those that hope for more considerable outrages amongst us; especially when the Insolence of our Popish Priests increases so visibly every where.

* * * * *

Your Grace's most dutiful servant,

W. DERRY.

LETTER CCCCXLVIII.

The same to the same. Leagues and Declarations among the Shopkeepers, &c. of Ireland, against Wood's Halfpence.

[MS. DONAT. 6116. p. 286.]

London Derry, Oct. 2^d. 1724.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

* * * * *

I AM not surprised at your Grace's wondering at our unaccountable Warmth about Wood's Halfpence. The matter seemed as strange to me; and I freely expressed my thoughts as long as I durst. By degrees

we are now come into a general conflagration. All our pedlers and petit merchants are confederating into solemn Leagues and Covenants against the currency of them. In one of the little borough towns of this Diocese the shop-keepers and ale-drapers have subscribed a formal engagement, wherein they *abhor, detest, and abjure* Mr. Wood and his Copper, in the same words, wherein their ringleaders have bid a defiance to the Pretender and his false Money.

This frenzy (which is indeed epidemical throughout the whole Kingdom) had seized several of my neighbours in this town: but upon the application of some of the chief of them for my opinion, a stop (I hope a final one) is put to the progress of the infection here.

I am told that some Hot-spurs among our Justices of the Peace have drawn up a declaration, in the fashionable way, which they design to offer to their brethren (and the Grand Jury) at their Quarter Sessions on Tuesday next. But half of the Bench being Clergymen, I hope to suppress that also.

The Lord Lieutenant's coming (unless some comfort about the Half-pence be his forerunner) will be a little dreaded by

Your Grace's
ever dutiful, grateful, and
faithful servant,

W. DERRY.

LETTER CCCCXLIX.

*The same to the same. Further Associations against
the Currency of Wood's Money.*

[MS. DONAT. 6116. p. 122.]

London Derry, Oct. 30th. 1724.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

MY last acquainted your Grace that our Justices of the Peace and Grand Juries were threatening to enter into Covenants and Associations against the Currency of these Halfpence and farthings, according to the precedent given them by the three Estates of the County of Dublin.

This great example was accordingly followed, as I am credibly informed, by all the Counties of the Province of Ulster; this of London-Derry only excepted. We had not one word said of the matter: but some of our good neighbours abundantly supplied this defect. They not only covenanted (after the common form) "never on any pretence whatever to receive or pay any of that coin," but that they would "prosecute to the utmost all others that should give any countenance to its currency."

To complete our security, our Spiritual *Draper* wrote a fourth Letter on this fruitful subject, directed

to the whole people of Ireland; wherein he exhorts the Kingdom most stedfastly to adhere to that glorious combination whereunto they have thus bound themselves.^a This advice he thinks necessary at this juncture, because of a report spread abroad that the Lord Lieutenant is coming over to settle Wood's Halfpence. In a sneering manner he represents this as a groundless falsehood, and proves it to be so by (as sneering) panegyrics on his Excellency, Mr. Walpole, &c. Care was taken to publish this satire the very day before the Lord Lieutenant landed, and within two days after it had a second edition. This gallant patriot asserts, in words at length, that Ireland no more depends on England than England does upon Ireland; that they who assert the contrary, talk without any ground of law, reason, or common-sense; that the Parliaments of England have sometimes assumed a power of binding this Kingdom by laws enacted there; but this has been opposed by invincible arguments, from truth, justice, and reason, &c.

Thus, my Lord, we are come to the highest round in our ladder; and if no mark be set on this insolent

^a When a reward was offered for the discovery of the Author of the Drapier's Fourth Letter, a Note was sent to Swift with the following text from 1 Sam. chap. xiv. v. 45. "And the people said unto Saul, shall *Jonathan* die, who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel? God forbid. As the Lord liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground; for he wrought with God this day. So the people rescued *Jonathan* that he died not." It was said to have been written by a Quaker.

writer, little safety will be expected (but in your prayers) by

Your Grace's ever dutiful servant,

W. DERRY.

LETTER CCCCL.

The same to the same. The Address of the Irish Parliament upon his Majesty's favour in the matter of Wood's Patent.

[MS. DONAT. 6116. p. 284.]

Dublin, Sept. 21st. 1725.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

UPON this day's delivery of the enclosed Speech from the Throne (which was done with as graceful an emphasis as I ever heard) Addresses to his Majesty and the Lord Lieutenant were immediately resolved on, in terms as dutiful and respectful as could be desired: but upon appointment of Committees to draw up those, instructions were offered which look perplexing, and occasioned long debates. His Majesty's Royal *favour* and *condescension* in the matter of Wood's Patent was not thought to be sufficient to bear the whole weight of our acknowledgments, unless his

WISDOM was also allowed its share. The meaning of that word on this occasion was plainly discernible. However, a majority carried the Amendment: but, we hope, that either the Committee or the House itself (on second thoughts) will throw it out.^a

This struggle has kept us so late, that I am hardly able to subscribe myself

Your Grace's most dutiful servant,

W. DERRY.

LETTER CCCCLI.

*The Duke of Wharton to Lady Jane Holt his sister.
Endeavours to extenuate his conduct.*

[MS. DONAT. 6416. fol. 5. *Orig.*]

* * Philip second Marquess of Wharton, was created Duke of Wharton by King George the First. The life of this distinguished nobleman was a continued scene of eccentricity.

Salmon, in his *Chronological Historian*, vol. ii. p. 166, says, "1726, June 10th. A Messenger having been sent to Madrid with a Letter under the privy seal, from his Majesty to the Duke of Wharton, commanding the Duke to return to England, his Grace, being in a coach when it was delivered to him, contemptuously threw it into the street without opening it, and soon after, it is said, *declared himself a Roman Catholic.*" The latter part of this statement is disproved by the following Letter.

Pope says, He died

—— "sad outcast of *each Church and State.*"

At his death in 1731, the title became extinct.

^a It was afterwards thrown out by a majority in the Lords of twenty-one to twelve.

DEAR SISTER,

MY name has been so often mentioned in the public Prints, and consequently become the subject of private conversation, that my personal friends (you particularly) may with reason expect to know from myself what steps I have taken or intend to take, and the true reasons of my present resolution. As to the reasons of my conduct I do not think it proper to write them directly to You, I must refer you to some papers you will soon see published through all Europe; I will not trust the good manners, or the good nature of my enemies by writing any thing to you that might expose you to trouble, for it would sharpen the prosecutions begun against me, if you should suffer the least inconvenience from tenderness to me. Whatever relates to myself gives me no uneasiness. Every virulent vote, every passionate reproach, and every malicious calumny against me, are so many real commendations of my conduct, and while you and my sister Lucy are permitted to live quietly and securely, I shall think our Family has met with no misfortune, and has therefore no claim to the compassion of its truest friends.

I know your tender concern and affection for me, and write chiefly to give you comfort, not to receive any from You; for I thank God that I have an easy contented mind, and that I want no comfort. I have

some hopes, I have no fears; which is more than some of your Norfolk neighbours can say of themselves.

I desire your prayers for the success of my wishes and prosperity of our Family; I scorn the false pretended compassion of my enemies, and it would grieve me much more to receive the real pity of my friends.

I shall not wonder if, at first, you should be affected with the warmth of the Proceeding against me, and should shew some concern at the attempts to strip our family of its title, and to rob them of their estates; but you will soon change your mind, when you consider that my real honour does not depend on Walpole or his master's pleasure, that a faction may attain a man without corrupting his blood, and that an estate seized by violence and arbitrary [power] is not irrecoverably *lost*. The word *late* is now become the most honourable epithet of the Peerage, it is a higher title than that of *Grace*, and whenever you hear me spoke of in that manner, I beg you to think as I do, that I have received *a new mark of honour*, a mark dignified by the Duke of Ormond, Earl Marischal,^a and others.

You that have often read Clarendon's History must know that during the reign of Cromwell and the Rump Parliament, the whole Peerage of England was styled THE LATE HOUSE OF LORDS; there was then no want of *late Dukes*, *late Earls*, and *late Bishops*, and why should that be reckoned a reproach to a single Peer,

^a Of the Earl Marischall a further mention will occur hereafter.

which was then the distinguishing title to the whole body? Was that usurper Cromwell the fountain of honour? Had he who murdered one King any more power to taint the blood of his fellow subjects, than his illustrious successor who has fixed a price on the Head of another? For as Lord Harcourt finely observes in his Speech on Dr. Sacheverel, there is little or no difference between a wet Martyrdom or a dry one. Can a High Commission Court at present, or a Secret Committee, tarnish the honour of a family? Is it a real disgrace to be condemned by Macclesfield, Harcourt, Townshend, or Trevor? Is it a dishonour to be robbed of a private fortune by those who have stript the widow and the fatherless? who have sold their Country? who have plundered the public? No, my dear Sister, assure yourself that this unjust Prosecution is a lasting monument erected to the honour of our family;—it will serve to render it illustrious to after ages, to atone for the unhappy mistakes of any of our misguided ancestors. If it should end with me, it will, however, have outlived the Liberties of England.

Those honours which we received at first from the Crown, can never be more gloriously interred than in the defence of the injured rights of the Crown; than in the cause of the rightful Monarch of Britain, the greatest of Princes and the best of Masters.

But I forget myself by enlarging too far on a subject that may not be so conveniently mentioned in a

Letter to you; my zeal for my Country, my duty to my Sovereign, my affection to You, and my respect to my Family and its true honour, have carried on my pen farther than I intended. I will only add that no change in my circumstances ever shall lessen my tender concern for you or my sister Lucy, to whom I desire you would present my love, and charge her as she values my friendship never to marry without my consent. Be assured that no distance of place, nor length of time, shall abate my affection for you, and my enemies shall find whenever I return to England, it shall be with honour to myself and with joy to my friends; to all those I mean who wish well to the Church of England, and to their native Country. Neither shall any thing tempt me to abandon that cause which I have so deliberately embraced, or to forsake that Religion in which I was educated. Wherever I am, I shall be always, dear Sister,

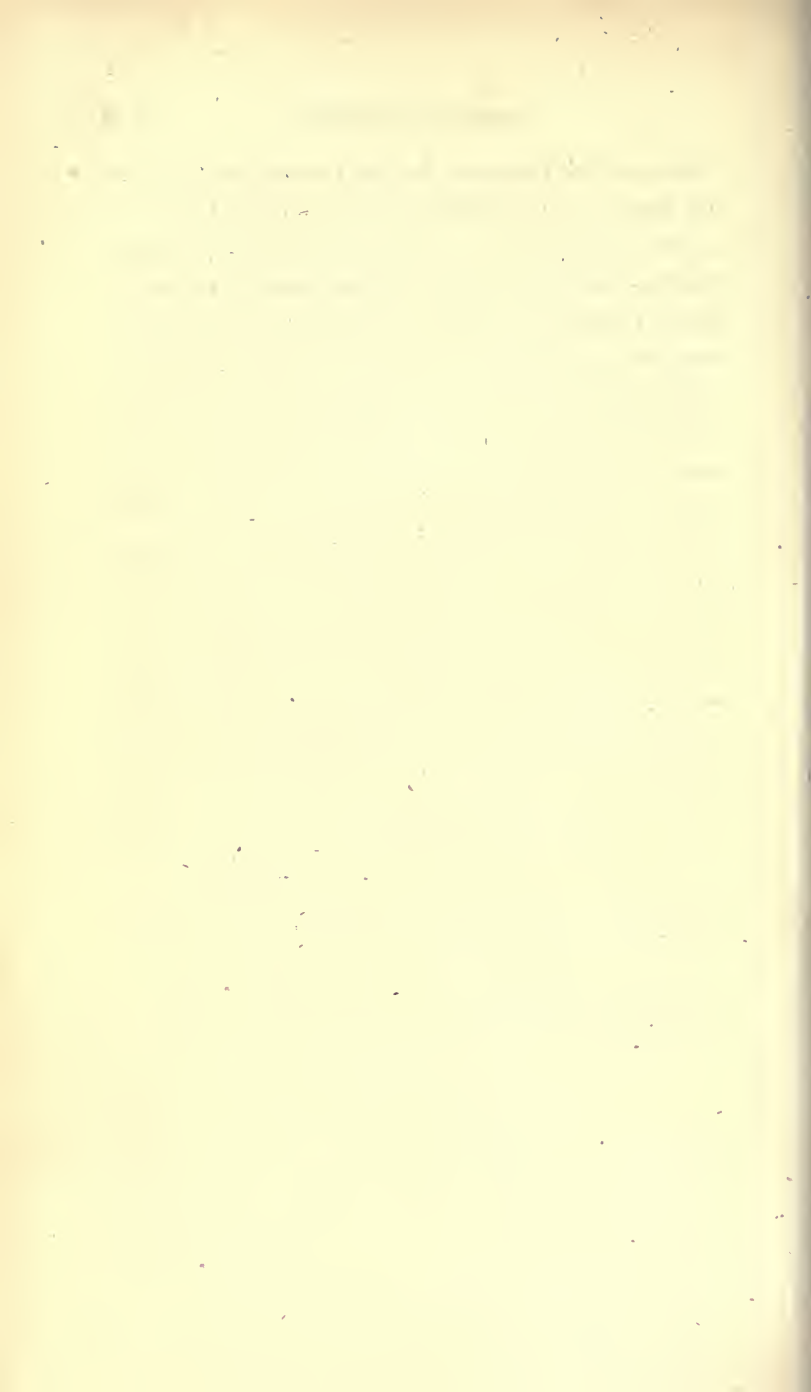
Your sincere friend and brother,

WHARTON.

Madrid, June the 17th. N. S.

1726.

To Lady Jane Holt.

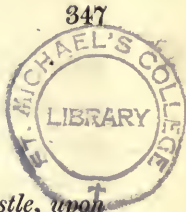


LETTERS
OF
THE REIGN OF
KING GEORGE THE SECOND.

IN this as in some preceding Reigns, the topics on which the Letters treat are few, and they relate chiefly to the latter part only of KING GEORGE *the SECOND's* time.

The murder of Capt. Porteus in 1736, the Rebellion of 1745, the robbery of the English Courier at the Gate of Berlin, and the Fate of Byng, are the most prominent subjects.

Next to these, the Letters of Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, the pardon of the Lord Marischall, and the proof that Voltaire drew secrets from the King of Prussia for the Court of France, are perhaps the most attractive. Fredcrick the Great's laconic character of Voltaire will not be overlooked.



LETTER CCCCLII.

*Major General Moyle to the Duke of Newcastle, upon
the Seizure and Execution of Captain Porteous by
the Mob at Edinburgh.*

[MS. HARL. MUS. BRIT. 7187.]

* * The Case of Captain Porteous was one of extraordinary interest at its time. As Captain Lieutenant of the City Guard of Edinburgh he was charged with, and adjudged guilty of firing upon the populace without order from the Magistrates, upon an attempt of the mob to seize the body of a culprit whose execution had just taken place, April 15th. 1736. On July the 20th. he was sentenced to die. Circumstances which were subsequently brought to light, appeared to lessen his guilt, and Queen Caroline, who was then Guardian of the Realm, sent a reprieve for six weeks, which it was thought would be followed by a change of the sentence to transportation. His execution stood fixed, upon the expiration of the reprieve, for the 8th. of September. Upon the night of the 7th. as will be seen in the following Letter, the populace seized the Toll-booth by surprise, found the prisoner, and hurried him by torch-light to the Grass-market, where throwing a rope over a sign-post twenty feet high, belonging to a dyer, near the ordinary place of execution, they pulled him up, but his hands being loose, he fixed them between his neck and the rope, so that the mob were obliged to let him down again. Having on two shirts, they wrapped one about his face, tied his arms with the night-gown he had on, pulled him up again, and completed his execution.

Edinburgh, 9th. September, 1736.

MY LORD,

I THINK it my duty to acquaint your Grace with what happened here last Tuesday night, about a quarter of an hour after ten. Being then in my bed, Colonel

Pears, who commands General Sabine's regiment in the Canongate, came and told me he heard there was a great disturbance in the City, on which I immediately ordered him to assemble the six Companies quartered here, and to parade them near the Guard in the Canongate, and to send for the three Companies from Leith, which was done with as much expedition as possible, for some of the Companies are quartered at a great distance from the Canongate. I dressed myself as soon as possible, in order to join the regiment. I was scarce dressed when Mr. Lindesay came to me, and told me there was a great mob in the City. It then wanted about fourteen minutes of eleven; he assured me they had got possession of the City gates, and that with much difficulty he got out by a small wicket, and was obliged to come round by the King's Park. He made no demand of a guard to assist them, but I told him I had ordered the regiment to be under arms, but that I could not force any of the Town gates, or give orders for attacking the mob, without legal authority from the Lord Justice-Clerk, or some other of the Lords of the Justiciary; for it was from one of them I had received all orders relating to the military since I came into the Country. I then asked Mr. Lindesay if Lord Justice-Clerk, or any other of the Lords of the Justiciary were in town? His answer was that neither the Justice-Clerk nor Lord Royston was in town; but Lord Newhall was, but there was no getting

to him. On which, knowing the Justice-Clerk lived but two miles and an half off the town, I desired Mr. Lindesay to write immediately to him for his directions, what he would have the Troops do ; and sent the letter by my own servant, who galloped all the way. My Lord being in bed, he got no answer from him till near one o'clock : the letter was directed to Mr. Lindesay, so I never saw the answer ; and long before it came, the poor man was hanged by the mob. By what I since hear, he was executed before Mr. Lindesay came to my house ; for they got him out of prison a little after ten. It was a great oversight that the poor man was not put into the Castle as soon as his reprieve came for him ; that being the only place to secure him from the rage of the mob. This unheard-of barbarity had been concerting several days, and I am surprized the Magistrates were not more on their guard. The Town-soldiers, instead of resisting, delivered their arms to the mob ; the Turnkey of the Prison owned he had a hint given him in the morning, that the Prison would be attempted to be broke open that night, and that he acquainted the Gaoler of it, and desired him to make it known to the Lord Provost, that care might be taken to prevent it. The Magistrates were drinking together in the Parliament-close when the mob first assembled, but did not care to read the proclamation, which was a very great neglect in them.

On their suspecting the mob would rise that night, the care of the Port next to the Canongate, ought to have been immediately put under the guard of the King's forces, and then the communication between the City and Suburbs would have been kept open. I have to add, that had the Troops forced their way into the town by demolishing one of the gates, without a legal authority, your Grace would soon have had a terrible complaint from the Magistrates. The regiment here are much fatigued, having lain two nights on their arms. I cannot but mention to your Grace that this is the third prisoner, within the memory of man, that has been taken out of the Tolbooth here, and barbarously murdered by the mob. They charge me with procuring Porteous's reprieve, and threaten to murder me in my bed or set fire to my house; but I despise them all. I don't hear that any of the criminals are yet apprehended, though well known by many of the inhabitants of the town.

I am, &c.

JOHN MOYLE.

LETTER CCCCLIII.

Dr. Edward Chandler, Bishop of Durham, apparently to the Archdeacon of Northumberland. The Rebels approaching from the North. The spirit of the different Counties.

[MS. DONAT. 6484. Orig.]

15th. Oct. 1745.

MR. ARCHDEACON,

IN answer to yours concerning Mr. Brown's Ordination, I am to acquaint you that his Instruments that he sent up are right.

* * * * *

You have surely done your part in contributing largely in two Counties, and it is a commendable caution to remove your family to Durham, for fear of a surprize. A single man can upon a little notice scamper off. But to tell you my opinion, I believe if the Rebels be not already advanced to the South, they will have no stomach hereafter to such an expedition. For Mr. Wade with his forces will be to-morrow at North Allerton, and then he will be too near the borders of Scotland for them to look him in the face. It is said Lockheart hath detached his Clan from the Pretender, and is himself on the road to London to claim

the benefit of His Majesty's Proclamation. Others are said to be gone home also with their plunder.

We hear E. Marshall is one of the persons concealed in the Spanish ship taken by the Bristol privateer, and that the Plot begins to be unravelled, wherein Papists of rank are said to be concerned. I hear of no others. General Cope and Col. Fowke are sent for up, to be tried by a Court Martial, and it is thought this is to lead the way to some Impeachment. We hear the English forces from Williamstadt are landed about Newcastle; if so I hope both Northumberland and Durham will be more than sufficiently secured: and the burden of the Associations be soon ended. It is a noble spirit that reigns in all the Counties, but unless the troops can be put under a proper regulation and discipline, they cannot stand before a body of Highlanders. They have, however, their use to prevent plundering by parties.

I doubt not but Providence will protect you wherever you stay, or go: nor need you be too scrupulous about leaving your Parish, when your stated time and business call you elsewhere. I hope you will attend the Ordination, and am,

Sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

E. DURESME.

LETTER CCCCLIV.

Duncan Forbes Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland, to Mr. Mitchell. The State of Edinburgh after the Successes of the Rebels there and at Preston Pans.

[FROM THE PAPERS OF ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ. AFTERWARDS SIR ANDREW MITCHELL. BRIT. MUS.]

* * Andrew Mitchell, Esq. afterwards Sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. from whose Correspondence this and numerous other Letters have been copied for the present Series, was Under Secretary, from 1743 to 1745, to the Marquess of Tweeddale then Secretary of State for Scotland, whose Office was suppressed in the latter year. In 1750 Mr. Mitchell became Member of Parliament for Aberdeenshire; and in 1756 went as His Britannick Majesty's Envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Court of Berlin, where he remained, with a short interval, till his death, Jan. 28th. 1771.

Few readers need to be told who was Duncan Forbes. "I knew and venerated the man," says Bishop Warburton, "one of the greatest that ever Scotland bred, both as a judge, a patriot, and a christian." He was born at Culloden in 1685, was appointed Solicitor-general of Scotland in 1717, member for Inverness in 1722, Lord Advocate in 1725, and in 1742 Lord President of the Court of Session. In the rebellion of 1745 he mortgaged his estate to support the Government. The refusal of the English Ministry to repay the expenses he had incurred is said to have shortened his life. He died in 1747, at the age of sixty-two.

Culloden, 13th. November, 1745.

MY DEAR ANDREW,

I AM mortally tired with writing a Letter to the Marquis of an immoderate length, and in a hand so

like Arabic, that I doubt your help will be wanted to decypher it. But it was impossible to make it shorter, and I am but a bad scribe: besides that, I have much more business on my hands at present to disturb my attention than I should have had, if the Rebels had permitted me to go through the course of the Session at Edinburgh.

When I came first to this Country, though I was not just treading in the path of a Chief Justice, the prospect was very flattering, and the errand I came on had no appearance of difficulty; but the rebels' successes at Edinburgh and Preston Pans soon changed the scene. All Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad; all doubtful people became Jacobites; and all bankrupts became Heroes, and talked of nothing but of hereditary right and victory: and what was more grievous to those of gallantry, and if you will believe me much more mischievous to the public, all the fine Ladies, if you will except one or two, became passionately fond of the young Adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner. Under these circumstances I found myself almost alone; without troops, without arms, without money or credit; provided with no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation; and, if you will except Macleod, whom I sent for from the Isle of Skye, supported by nobody of common sense or courage. Had Arms and Money

come when they were first called for, before these unexpected successes blew up folly into madness, I could have answered it with my head, that no man from the North should have joined the original flock of Rebels that crossed the Forth; and even as it has happened, it is no small consolation to me, that except Macpherson of Cluny, whose force does not exceed three hundred, none from the North have reached them in time to march along with them Southward from Edinburgh; that no more than about two hundred of the Clan Chattan^a have marched, who had got as last Saturday no farther than Perth, and that notwithstanding the restless endeavours of the Earl of Cromarty, the Master of Lovat, and others, no more than a hundred and fifty or a hundred and sixty of the Mackenzies have been debouched, and that even those have not as yet passed the Corryarceck, no more than the Frasers, who to the number of five or six hundred have flocked to arms, and who possibly may think better, if the weather permit the force which we hourly expect from the Isle of Skye to join us quickly, before they leave their country exposed. By this diversion, his Majesty's army will have a much smaller body of Highlanders to deal with to the Southward than otherwise they should have had; and, if a small number of troops could be spared from it to take possession of

^a The CLAN CHATTAN consisted of Sixteen Tribes, each having their own chieftain, but all voluntarily united under the government of one leader, the Laird of Mackintosh. See the Statist. Acc. of Scotl. vol. viii. p. 500.

Edinburgh, and to secure the fords of the Firth, as, on the one hand, the small numbers of Highlanders that are marching towards Edinburgh could not join their brethren, so, on the other, the retreat of those that have marched towards England would be cut off. But this, if practicable, has doubtless been done before this time.

As to the Independent Companies, I have disposed of such of them as are hitherto given with the greatest discretion I was master of, following this rule, to bestow them on such as could be trusted and could the most quickly bring the men together for the service. I shall have a dozen of them together soon, and some more in a little time; and in this operation I should have succeeded better, but for the folly and roguery of mankind, which finds many ways of exerting itself. You will naturally observe that the cutting off the communication with the rest of Scotland, confined the nomination of the officers of those companies to the North. E. Loudon's arrival has been a vast relief to me; his skill and diligence joined to patience and a very obliging behaviour, must be of very great service to the public at this juncture, when those talents are so much wanted and so scarce.

As I am pretty much fatigued with wielding the pen, give me leave to conclude; but before I do so, to put you in mind that I have hardly seen a common London Print for a month; that I know nothing of

what is, or has been doing in the world for these three months past; and that any thing that you may be pleased to entertain me with in my Lord Marquis's packet will come probably safe. I dare say you will put his Lordship in mind of despatching what in mine to him is suggested, if he should stand in need of a monitor, which I am confident he will not.

I am, my dear Andrew,
truly yours,

DUN. FORBES.

LETTER CCCCLV.

*Duncan Forbes, Lord President, to Mr. Mitchell.
Mr. Gordon. The want of supplies wherewith to
oppose the Rebels.*

[MITCHELL PAPERS, BRIT. MUS. Orig.]

Culloden, 22 Dec. 1745.

* * * * *

As to Mr. Gordon, who seems to be a pretty young man, he may be sure of my best offices. Though upon the plan which the necessity of the service obliged me to pursue, in raising the Independent Companies, which

was to give the nomination of the officers to the well affected Chiefs who could instantly produce the Companies, it was not possible to give him a commission; I have, however, recommended him in the strongest manner to E. Loudon, whom he will attend in the remainder of this ill-favoured campaign; and what service I can do him shall not be wanting.

I am obliged to you for yours of the 7^h. which came by a sloop from Leith, despatched by the Solicitor, because it gives me notice that what I wrote by the Salbach is come to hand, and hopes that some time or another the supplies sought may come under consideration and be ordered. Though give me leave to tell you, my dear Andrew, it is somewhat mortifying, that when men are exposing themselves as we are doing in this Country, and thereby doing what we know to be very essential to the Government, our safety, if no more were in the question, is so slightly treated, and this Country left unguarded, to be possibly the seat for some months of a War that may cost Britain immense sums and very great danger, when small attention and the timely supply of a few thousand stand of arms, and a few thousand pounds, would in all human appearance prevent such fatal consequence. It surprised me, I own, to find in neither of the packets to me any letter from my Lord Marquis, though there was one to the Moderator of the Synod of Murray, in

answer to a letter with an address which was transmitted along with my last despatch.

This must have been owing wholly to some accidental mistake in mislaying the Letter, if any such was written, or more probably to the hurry the ministers may have been in, which prevented their taking time to come to resolutions, and give directions on the demands I made ; the nearness of the danger, which at that time was approaching London, may have been the cause why they overlooked one that was more remote. But as that alarm must have worn off in a day or two at farthest after the date of your last, I am hopeful they have before this time thought in good earnest of our case, and sent us the supply desired ; if they have not, the consequences will, I am afraid, be severely felt ; as, besides the want of arms, our money is almost spent. But if this have a quick passage, and if upon the receipt of it the supplies are immediately despatched, they may happen to come before it is too late ; especially if the Rebels choose to make a stand for any time at Perth.

To understand distinctly what I write, with the reason for writing so, you must consider my letter to my Lord Marquis of this date, which I presume you will see, and my reason for writing to you so urgently on this subject in terms which might possibly be not altogether so proper to put in a letter to his Lordship, which may be seen by other eyes, is, that my Lord may know and be able to express to the Ministers who must

cooperate with him, the sense I have, and which I fear all those who act along with me generously in this Country will soon have, of the neglect with which we are treated, if what I complain of is not speedily remedied. I have nothing further to say, my dear Andrew, but that

I am sincerely yours,

DUN. FORBES.

By the kindness of his friend EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq. the Editor is here enabled to lay before the Reader a LIST of the various MEDALS, struck in England and elsewhere, connected with the History of KING JAMES the SECOND's Abdication, the Birth of his SON, and the Efforts and Sufferings of his FAMILY till their extinction: including various Medals of Louis the XIVth. K. William the III^d. Queen Anne, and William Duke of Cumberland, bearing upon the same subjects. The Reader will observe that upon the Medals of the Son of James the II^d. the date of his birth on those struck in England is the 10th. upon the Foreign Medals 20th of June: being occasioned by the difference of the stiles then in use.

1. An infant, reclining upon a state cradle, strangles a serpent in each hand; the ground strewn with fragments of slaughtered serpents. *Leg.* MONSTRIS. DANT. FVNERA. CVNÆ. *Rev.* The Prince's Plume. *Leg.* FVLTA. TRIBVS. METVENDA. CORONA. *Ex.* 1688. *Diam.* 1 $\frac{3}{8}$. *Cabinets.* Royal. B. Mus. Dr. Hunter. Edw. Hawkins, Esq. *arg.*

2. Armorial shield of the Prince of Wales, crowned, supported by four infant genii, one of whom holds the Prince's plume, another the ducal shield of Cornwall. *Leg.* HONOR. PRIN. MAG. BRIT. FRA. ET. HIB. NAT. 10. IVN. 1688. *Rev.* the infant Prince reclining on a cushion; above, two infant genii with trumpets hold a crown and palm branch, and support a band inscribed, VENIAT. CENTESIMVS. HÆRES. *Diam.* 1 $\frac{7}{8}$. *Cab.* Dr. Hunter. *arg.*

3. Busts, to the right, of James II. and Q. Mary; shoulders mantled; the King laureate. *Leg.* IACOBVS. II. M. BRIT. REX. MARIA. M. BRIT. REG. *Rev.* a Map of ANGLIA, SCOTIA, HIBERNIA, whence storms are retiring westward, as the Sun rises. *Leg.* ILLAS FVGAT. RECREAT ISTAS. *Ex.* OB NATVM WALLIÆ PRINCEM GAB. SILVIVS EQ. AVR. AD SER. DANIÆ ET NORW. REG. ABL. EXT. C. C. MDCLXXXVIII. *Diam.* 1 $\frac{3}{8}$. *Cab.* Bodley. *aur.* Trattle. Hawkins. &c. *arg.*

4. The King's bust to the left, laureate, hair long, mantle over breast. *Leg.* IACOBUS II. D. G. BRITANNIARUM IMPERATOR. Rose under head. *Rev.* The Queen, in a canopied bed, holding the infant Prince. *Leg.* FELICITAS PUBLICA. *Ex.* OB FELICISS. M. BRIT. PRINC. NATIV. 20 IUN. 1688. IG. VITUS EQ. B. C. MARC. D'ALBYVILLE ET SA. ROM. IMP. APUD BAT. ABLEG. EXT. C. C. *Diam.* 2 $\frac{3}{8}$. *Cab.* Royal. Hunter. Trattle, &c. &c. *arg.*

5. Bust to the left, laureate, mantle over shoulders. *Leg.* GIVE THE KING THY IVDGMENTS: O GOD. *Rev.* An angel guarding the infant Prince in a cradle beneath a canopy. *Leg.* AND THY RIGHTEOVSNES VNTO THE KINGS SON. *Psal.* 72. 1. *Ex.* 'The Prince of Wales born June 10, 1688.' *Diam* 1½. *Cab.* Reeve. Hawkins. H. Ellis. *pewter.* The device of this medal is stamp't in imitation of engraving, and the workmanship is very rude.

6. Truth trampling upon the serpent of deceit, and opening the door of a cabinet inscribed, IAC. FRANC. EDVARD SVPOSIT. 20 JVNII 1688. Within appears a Jesuit pushing through the top a cushion, upon which is seated an infant holding a chalice in one hand and crowning himself with the other. *Leg.* SIC NON HEREDES DEERVNT. In the distance appears the Dutch Fleet advancing under favourable breezes from heaven. *Rev.* The Trojan horse with his trappings, inscribed, LIBERT. CONS. SINE. JURAM. ET. LEG. P. *Leg.* EQVO NVNQVAM TU CREDE BRITANNE. *Diam.* 2½. *Cab.* Royal. *arg.* æn. B. Mus. Hunter. Trattle, &c. &c. *arg.*

7. Aglauros opens a basket, placed amid roses and thistles, whence Erichthonius escapes. In the distance are females alarmed at the sight. *Leg.* INFANTEMQUE VIDENT, APPORRECTUMQUE DRACONEM. *Rev.* A withered rose-bush, bearing two decayed flowers; at a little distance springs up a small sucker with a single bud. *Leg.* TAMEN NASCATVR OPORTET. *Ex.* MDCLXXXVIII. *Cab.* Royal. B. Mus. Hunter. Hawkins. &c. *arg.*

8. Will. III. habited as a Roman Emperor, trampling upon a serpent, and supporting Mary wearing the crowns of her triple kingdom; her shield is suspended from an Orange tree, entwined with roses and thistles. In the distance appear James II. and Father Petre bearing away the young Prince, who is playing with a windmill, (alluding to the report that the young Prince was the son of a miller). P. A. F. the initials of the artist's name. *Leg.* DEO VINDICE IUSTITIA COMITE. *Rev.* Boats landing troops near a castle. *Leg.* CONTRA INFANTEM PERDITIONIS. *Ex.* EXPEDITIO NAVALIS PRO LIBERTATE ANGLIÆ MDCLXXXVIII. *Diam.* 1¾. *Cab.* Hunter. Hawkins. *arg.* In the Royal Cabinet is a variety of this medal, in which Father Petre carries the Pix, instead of the young Prince; a monk carrying a crucifix accompanies him instead of the King.

9. King William, bust to the right, laureate; hair long; mantle. *Leg.* GUILIEL. III. D. G. PRINC. AVRA. RELI. LIBER. QVE. RESTI. *Rev.* The Ark of the Covenant; above is EMANVEL hurling thunder against French soldiers, and beaming rays upon Britannia and Belgia. In front, Father Petre and a monk with the young Prince, and the emblems of the Papacy, tumbling. *Diam.* 2. *Cab.* Hunter. Trattle. *arg.*

10. A French ship; Father Petre upon a lobster holds the young Prince playing with a windmill. *Leg.* ALLONS MON PRINCE, NOUS SOMMES EN BON CHEMIN. *Ex.* IAC. EDVARD SUPPOSEE 20 JUIN. 1688. *Rev.* The Pretender's Arms; a shield, bearing a windmill; above, a Jesuit's cap, whence depends a double rosary, enclosing the motto HONI SOIT QVI BON Y PENSE: a lobster is suspended instead of the George. *Leg.* LES ARMES ET L'ORDRE DU PRETENDU PRINCE DES GALLES. *Diam.* 1½. *Cab.* Royal. *arg.* and æn. Thomas. *arg.*

11. Britannia greeting the approach of Belgia. *Leg.* M. BRIT. EXP. NAV. BAT. LIB. REST. ASSERTA. *Rev.* An eagle casting a young bird from the nest upon a rock; another Eagle hovers above. In the distance a Fleet. *Leg.* EJICIT INDIGNVM. See Vanloon, vol. iii. p. 367.

12. Bust of Louis XIV. to the right. *Leg.* LVDOVICVS MAGNVS REX.

Rev. The Belgic Liou, supporting itself by the staff of Liberty and the labarum, drives toward the coast, where a French ship waits for them, K. James II. with his sword broken, Father Petre holding the young Prince with his windmill, and the snakes of discord. *Leg.* AVT REX AVT NIHIL. *Er.* REGIFVGIVM IAC. AD LVD. XIV. *Diam.* 1½. *Cab.* Hawkins. H. Ellis. *pw.*

13. Bust of James II. to the left, laureate, long hair, mantle. *Leg.* IACOBVS II. D. G. BRITANNIARUM IMPERATOR. *Rev.* A fox setting fire to a tree, whereon are an Eagle and nest; at a distance an Eagle carrying off a cub. *Leg.* MAGNIS. INTERDV. PARVA. NOCENT. REGNO. ABDICATO. IN. GALLIAM. APPVLIT. *Er.* 4 IAN. 1689. S. N. *Diam.* 2¼. *Cab.* Royal. B. Mus. Hunter, &c. &c. *arg.*

14. Louis the XIV.; bust to the right. *Leg.* LVDOVICVS. MAGNVS. REX. CHRISTIANISSIMVS. *Rev.* Gallia welcoming the arrival of James II., his Queen, and the young Prince. *Leg.* PERFGIVM REGIBVS. *Er.* IAC. II. M. BR. REX CVM REG. CONI ET PR. WALLÆ IN GALL. RECEPTIS MDCLXXXIX. *Diam.* 1½. *Cab.* Hawkins. *æn.* &c. &c.

15. Same bust to the right. *Leg.* LVDOVICUS MAGNVS R. CHRIST. F. P. SEMP. VICT. *Rev.* a wreath of roses and pomegranates entwined, with a band inscribed LVDOVICO MAGNO, enclosing the Inscription, OB REGEM REGINAM ET PRINCIPEM MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ SERVATOS. *Diam.* 2½. *Cab.* Royal. *arg.*

16. Busts of King William and Queen Mary, to the right. *Leg.* GULIELM. R. MARIA REGINA F. D. P. A. *Rev.* An Eagle ejects a young one from the nest. *Leg.* NON PATITVR SVPOSITIOS. *Er.* JURE REGNI VINDIC. MDCLXXXIX. *Diam.* 1¾. *Cab.* Royal. B. Mus. *arg.* The obverse of this medal gives sometimes a different representation of the King and Queen.

17. King William's bust to the right, laureate. *Leg.* GULIELM. III. D. G. BRITANN. R. RELIG. LIBERTATISQ. RESTITUT. *Rev.* An orange tree entwined with roses and thistles, and having the shield of Britain attached, rears its head amid the clouds, where are the words ITE MISSA EST, and whence lightning is directed against James II. on one side, with his crown and sceptre falling from his grasp, and Father Petre on the other, going off with the Pix and the young Prince carrying his windmill. Snakes of discord accompany their flight. *Er.* INAUGURATIS MAIESTATIBUS EIECTO PAPATU EXPULSA TYRANNIDE BRITANNIA FELIX. 1689. *Diam.* 2. *Cab.* Royal. B. Mus. Hunter. Trattle. Hawkins. *arg.* Another obverse representing the busts of King William and Queen Mary sometimes occurs to this medal.

18. Queen Mary, bust to the left, mant. on shoulder. *Leg.* MARIA. D. G. MAGN. BRIT. FRANC. ET. HIB. REGINA. *Rev.* An Eagle flying toward the sun, holds one eaglet, and drops another. *Leg.* NON PATITVR SVPOSITIOS. *Er.* EXCELLENTISSIMÆ PRINCIP. JVS REGNI VINDICATVM. EIECTO SVPOSITITIO. MDCLXXXIX. *Diam.* 2. *Cab.* Royal. Hunter. *arg.*

19. The attainted Prince of Wales's bust to the left, in armour. *Leg.* IACOBVS WALLÆ PRINCEPS. N. R. *Rev.* A vessel dismasted in a storm. *Leg.* 1697. IACTATVR NON MERGITVR VNDIS. *Diam.* 1¾. *Cab.* B. Mus. Hunter. Bodleian. Hawkins. *æn.*

20. Another bust of the Prince to the left; no drapery. *Leg.* IAC. WALLÆ PRINCEPS. N. R. *Rev.* The Sun partly eclipsed. *Leg.* CLARIOR E TENEBRIS. *Er.* 1697. *Diam.* 1. *Cab.* Hunter. Hawkins. *æn.*

21. Bust, same as preceding. *Rev.* A mine exploding near a bastion. *Leg.* QVO

COMPRESSA MAGIS. *Ex.* 1697. *Diam.* 1. *Cab.* Royal. *aur.* Hunter. B. Mus. Hawkins. H. Ellis. *æn.*

22. Bust, same as preceding. *Rev.* Sun-rise, sea-coast. *Leg.* OMNIA. FACIT. IPSE. SERENA. *Ex.* 1697. *Diam.* 1. *Cab.* Hunter. Hawkins. H. Ellis. *æn.*

23. Same bust. *Rev.* A dove and olive branch, sea-coast. *Leg.* MANSVRÆ NVNTIA PACIS. *Ex.* 1697. *Diam.* 1. *Cab.* Royal. *aur. arg.* B. Mus. Hunter. Hawkins. H. Ellis. *æn.*

24. K. James II. bust to right, laureate, in armour and mantle. *Leg.* IACOBVS : II : D : G : M : B : R : N. R. *Rev.* The Prince's bust to the left, hair long and tied, in armour. *Leg.* IAC. WALLIÆ PRINCEPS. N. R. *Diam.* $1\frac{1}{10}$. *Cab.* B. Mus. Hunter. Hawkins. *arg.*

25. Another. *Obv.* nearly the same as last. *Leg.* of obverse, IACO. II. DEI. GRATIA. *Diam.* $1\frac{1}{8}$. *Cab.* Bodleian. Trattle. *arg.*

26. Bust to left, same as *Rev.* of two preceding. *Rev.* Sun rising disperses demons; sea-coast and ships. *Leg.* SOLA LUCE FVGAT. *Ex.* 1699. *Diam.* $1\frac{1}{8}$. *Cab.* B. Mus. Hunter. Trattle. Hawkins. *arg.*

27. Bust, same as preceding. *Rev.* a Cornucopia. *Leg.* PAX VOBIS. *Ex.* 1699. *Diam.* $1\frac{1}{8}$. *Cab.* Hunter. Bodleian. Hawkins. *arg.*

28. Bust to right, laureate. *Leg.* IACOBVS. II. D. G. M. B. F. ET. H. REX. N. R. 1699. *Rev.* The Prince's bust to left, in armour and mantle. *Leg.* IAC. WALLIÆ. PRINCEPS. *Diam.* $1\frac{7}{8}$. *Cab.* B. Mus. Hunter. Bodl. Hawkins. &c. *arg.*

29. Busts of James II. and Mary; he laureate, and clothed with ample mantle. *Rev.* Bust to left, in armour and mantle. *Leg.* IACOBVS. III. D. G. M. B. F. ET. H. REX. *Diam.* 2. *Cab.* Trattle. Hawkins. chased and gilt.

30. Bust to left. *Leg.* IAC. III. D. G. MAG. BRIT. REX. N. R. *Rev.* The meridian sun dispelling clouds. *Leg.* VIRTVS MOX NVBILA PELLET. *Ex.* 1704. *Diam.* $1\frac{1}{8}$. *Cab.* Hawkins. *arg.*

31. Bust of Prince James to the left, laureate, in mantle. *Leg.* CVIVS EST. N. R. *Rev.* Map of BRIT. SCOT. HIB. *Leg.* REDDITE. *Diam.* $1\frac{7}{8}$. *Cab.* B. Mus. Hunter. Bodl. Hawkins. H. Ellis. *arg. æn.*

32. Bust of Prince James to left, laureate, no drapery. *Leg.* CUIUS EST. N. R. *Rev.* Similar to preceding. *Diam.* $1\frac{9}{16}$. *Cab.* Royal. B. Mus. Hunter. Bodl. Hawkins. H. Ellis. *æn.*

33. Bust of Prince James to left, in armour and mantle. *Leg.* CUIUS EST. N. R. *Rev.* Map of ANGLIA, SCOT. HIB. *Leg.* inscribed on band, REDDITE IGITUR. *Diam.* 2. *Cab.* B. Mus. *æn.* cast. Bodl. *æn.* Trattle. *arg.*

34. Ship; sails set, wind fair. *Leg.* IAC. 3. D. G. M. B. F. ET. H. REX. *Rev.* St. Michael and Dragon. *Leg.* SOLI DEO GLORIA. *Diam.* $\frac{3}{4}$. *Cab.* Trattle. Hawkins. *arg.*

35. Ship; sails set, wind adverse. *Leg.* IAC. III. D. G. M. B. F. ET. H. R. *Rev.* St. Michael and Dragon. *Leg.* SOLI DEO GLORIA. *Diam.* $\frac{7}{8}$. *Cab.* B. Mus. *aur.* Bodl. Trattle. Hawkins. *arg.*

These two pieces were struck to present to such persons as came to the nominal king to be cured of scrophulous affections by his touch.

36. Queen Anne's bust to the left, crowned, in mantle. *Leg.* ANNA D. G. MAG. ET UNITÆ BRITA. FRA. ET HIB. REGINA. c.w. *Rev.* QVOD DEVS ET REGES LEGITIMI HENRICVS ROSIS IACOBVS NOMINIBVS ANNA

REGNIS CONIUNXERVNT LVDOVICVS XIV GALL. REX PRINCIPE
SVPOSITITIO SEPARARE AVSVS EST D. XXIV MART. MDCCVIII.
Diam. $1\frac{3}{4}$. *Cab.* Hunter. *arg.*

37. Bust, same as preceding. *Rev.* HENRICVS ROSAS IACOBVS NOMINA
ANNA REGNA VNIVIT MDCCVII CONFIRMAVITQ. FACTA IRRITA
LVD. XIV GALL. REG. CONSPIRATIONE PER PR. SVPP. IACOB. DE
WALLIS MDCCVIII. *i. o. i.* *Diam.* $1\frac{3}{4}$. *Cab.* Hunter. *arg.*

38. The Queen's bust, to left, laureate, in mantle. *Leg.* ANNA. D. G. MAGN.
BRIT. FRANC. ET HIB. REGINA. *s.* *Rev.* Sceptre entwined by the Rose and
Thistle. At a distance, Rebels conducting to the Tower, and the SALISBURI cap-
tured. *Leg.* QUIS NOS IMPUNE LACESSET UNITAS. *Ex.* IRRITO SPURII
IACOBI REDITU IN SCOTOS CLASSE GALICA EXTERNATA MDCCVIII.
Diam. $1\frac{7}{8}$. *Cab.* Hunter. *Trattle. arg.*

39. Bust of Prince James, to left, laureate, no drapery. *Leg.* DOMINVM
COGNOSCITE VESTRVM. *N. R.* *Rev.* Sheep, COGNOSCVNT ME MEÆ. *Ex.*
1710. *Diam.* $1\frac{3}{16}$. *Cab.* B. Mus. Hawkins. *æn.*

40. Bust, to left, in mantle, IACOBVS III. D. G. M. B. F. ET H. REX. *Rev.*
Bust to left. *Leg.* PRINCEPS LVD. SER. M. B. REGIS SOROR. *N. R.*

1712. *Diam.* $2\frac{1}{8}$. *Cab.* B. Mus. Hunter. *Trattle. Hawkins. æn. arg.*

A copy of this medal, highly chased and gilt, sometimes, though rarely, occurs.
One in the collection of Mr. Hawkins.

41. Bust to left, laureate, no drapery. IACOBVS III. D. G. M. B. F. ET H. REX.
N. R. *Rev.* Bust to left. *Leg.* PRINCEPS LVD. SER. MAG. BRI. REGIS
SOROR. *N. R.* *Diam.* $1\frac{9}{16}$. *Cab.* Hunter. *arg.* *Trattle. æn.* Hawkins. *arg.*

42. Busts of Prince James and the Princess Louisa, facing, each in an oval border;
the field between decorated with scroll ornaments. He, in armour and mantle; she,
with her hair filletted, her mantle broached in front and on shoulder. *Diam.* 2. *Cab.*
B. Mus. *arg.* Struck only on a thin plate of silver.

43. Queen Anne's bust to left, laureate, rich gown and mantle. *Leg.* ANNA
AVGVSTA. *Rev.* Bust of Prince James to left, in armour, and mantle. *Leg.* CVIVS
EST. *Diam.* $1\frac{3}{4}$. *Cab.* Trattle. chased, gilt.

This and two or three others of similar workmanship were executed by desire of
some partisans of the exiled family, to form a series of medallie portraits of its
members.

44. K. Geo. the 1st. bust to right, laureate, in armour and mantle. *Leg.* GEORGIVS
D. G. MAG. BR. FR. ET HIB. REX. F. D. *i. c.* *Rev.* An angel with sword and palm
pursues cavalry. *Leg.* PERJURII ULTRIX. *Ex.* AD. DUNBLAINVM. 13 Nov.
1715. *Diam.* $1\frac{7}{8}$. *Cab.* Royal. *arg. æn.* B. Mus. Hunter. *arg. &c. &c.*

45. Bust same as preceding. *Rev.* A trophy of arms, on a pedestal decorated with
united hands; two captives chained to the base. *Leg.* FIDES MILITVM. *Ex.*
REBELL. AD PRESTON CAPT. 13 Nov. 1715. *Diam.* $1\frac{7}{8}$. *Cab.* Royal. *arg. æn.*
B. Mus. *æn.* Hunter. *arg. &c. &c.*

46. Bust to the right, of Prince James, laureate, in armour and mantle. *Leg.* NIHIL
EFFICIENS. *Rev.* Map of SCOTIA BRITANNIA HIBERNIA. At the top,
1708. M. MART. Middle of Scotland. 1716. M. FEBR. *Leg.* BIS VENIT VIDIT
NON VICIT FLENSQVE RECESSIT. *Diam.* $1\frac{1}{4}$. *Cab.* Hunter. Hawkins. *arg.*

47. Busts to right; he, in armour, and mantle; she, with her hair decorated with
tiara and beads. *Leg.* IACOB. III. R. CLEMENTINA. R. HAMERAN. *Rev.*

Hercules leaning on his club, takes the hand of Venus; Cupid near her holds a caduceus. *Leg.* REGIVM CONNVBIVM. *Ex.* KAL. SEPTEMBR. MDCCXIX. *Diam.* $1\frac{5}{8}$. *Cab.* B. Mus. *arg.* Hunter. Bodl. Hawkins. *æn.* &c.

48. Bust to left, in rich gown, mantle, &c. *Leg.* CLEMENTINA. M. BRITAN. FR. ET. HIB. REGINA. OTTO HAMERANI F. *Rev.* Clementina in a car; Rome, in the distance. *Leg.* FORTVNAM CAVSAMQVE SEQVOR. *Ex.* DECEPTIS CVSTODIBVS MDCCXIX. *Diam.* $1\frac{7}{8}$. *Cab.* B. Mus. Hunter. Bodl. Hawkins. *arg.* &c.

49. Bust to right, in armour and mantle. *Leg.* IACOBVS. III. D. G. M. B. F. ET. H. REX. *Rev.* Bust to left, in a rich gown and mantle. *Leg.* CLEMENTINA MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ ET C. REG. OTTO HAMERANI. *Diam.* $1\frac{7}{8}$. *Cab.* Hunter. *æn.* Bodl. *æn.* &c. &c.

50. Busts, same as last but two. *Rev.* A female, leaning against a column, holds an infant; points to Great Britain on a Globe. *Leg.* PROVIDENTIA OBSTETRIX. *Ex.* CAROLO PRINC. VALLIÆ NAT. DIE VLTIMA A. MDCCXX. *Diam.* $1\frac{5}{8}$. *Cab.* Hunter. *æn.* Bodl. *arg. æn.* Trattle. *arg.* Hawkins. *æn.* &c.

51. Busts to right: he, laureate, in armour and mantle. *Leg.* IAC. III. ET. CLEM. D. G. MAG. BRIT. REG. *Rev.* A female holding an infant on one arm. *Leg.* SPES BRITANNIÆ. *Ex.* CAR. WALL. PR. NATVS DIE VLT. A. 1720. *Diam.* $1\frac{5}{8}$. *Cab.* Hunter. *lead.* Hawkins. *Rev. only, lead.*

52. Bust of Prince James, to the right, in armour and mantle. *Leg.* VNICA SALVS. *Rev.* The Hanoverian Horse trampling on a Lion and Unicorn; beyond appears Britannia weeping; a family emigrating; London in the distance. *Leg.* QVID GRAVIVS CAPTA. *Ex.* MDCCXXI. *Diam.* 2. *Cab.* B. Mus. *arg.* Hunter. *arg.* Bodl. H. Ellis. *æn.* Hawkins. *arg.* &c.

53. Bust of Prince Charles, to the right, in armour and ermine mantle. *Leg.* MICAT INTER OMNES. *Rev.* Bust of Prince Henry to right, in armour. *Leg.* ALTER AB ILLO. *Edge.* DIE XXXI. DECEMBR. MDCCXX. EXTVLIT OS SACRV M COELO. *Diam.* $1\frac{5}{8}$. *Cab.* B. Mus. *aur.* Royal. Hunter. Bodl. Hawkins. *æn.*

54. Bust of Prince Charles, to right, armour and mantle. *Leg.* HVNC SALTEM EVERSO IVVENEM. *Rev.* Bust of Prince Henry, in armour and mantle. *Leg.* TRIPPLICIS SPES TERTIA GENTIS. *Diam.* $1\frac{3}{4}$. *Cab.* Hunter. Bodl. Hawkins. *æn.*

55. Bust, to right, in pontifical robes. *Leg.* BENED. XIV. PONT. M. A. III. *Rev.* Monument. *Leg.* MEMORIÆ. M. CLEM. M. BRIT. REGINÆ. *Diam.* $1\frac{3}{8}$. *Cab.* Hunter. Hawkins. *æn.* &c. &c.

56. Bust of Prince Charles to right, no drapery. *Leg.* CAROLVS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS. 1745. *Rev.* Britannia standing upon the shore, holds a spear, rests one hand on a shield, watching the approach of ships. *Leg.* AMOR ET SPES. *Ex.* BRITANNIA. *Diam.* $1\frac{5}{8}$. *Cab.* B. Mus. Hunter. Bodl. Trattle. Hawkins. *æn.*

Another of the same type, but of silver, and a smaller size ($1\frac{3}{16}$), occurs in the Cabinets of B. Mus. Trattle. Willett. Hawkins.

57. Bust of Prince Charles, same as preceding, but without *Leg.* or *Rev.* $\frac{7}{16}$ by $\frac{6}{16}$. *Cab.* Hawkins. *aur.*

This was evidently intended to have been set in a ring or brooch.

58. Prince Charles in the Highland dress, sword in hand, holds a shield, inscribed QUIS CONTENTAT MECUM. *Leg.* on a band, NULLUM NON MOVEBO LAPIDEM UT ILLUD ADIPISCAR. 1745. *Rev.* A rose. *Leg.* MEA RES AGITUR. *Diam.* $1\frac{1}{16}$. *Cab.* Hunter. Hawkins. *æn.*

59. Prince Charles in Highland dress; in the distance, a man leaning upon his shield. *Leg.* CAROLUS PRINCEPS. *Rev.* Fame, flying above a city, holds a crown, and proclaims from a trumpet the *Leg.* SUUM CUIQUE. *Diam.* $1\frac{1}{8}$. *Cab.* Hawkins. *æn.*

60. Bust of the Duke of Cumb. to the right, in armour. *Leg.* GVLIELMVS DVX CVMBRIÆ. *Rev.* Prince Charles in a plaid dress, hat in hand, kneeling before a Lion rampant, crowned. *Ex.* 1746. *Diam.* $1\frac{1}{4}$. *Cab.* Hawkins. *æn.*

61. Duke of Cumberland on horseback, sword drawn. *Leg.* DUKE. OF. CUMBER. *Rev.* Prince Charles, attempting to take a crown upon a column, is seized by the cap by the Duke of Cumberland, who strikes him with a sword. *Leg.* COME BACK AGAIN. *Ex.* PRETENTER. *Diam.* $1\frac{3}{8}$. *Cab.* Hawkins. *æn.*

62. Duke of Cumberland on horseback, sword drawn. *Leg.* DUKE. OF. CUMBER. *Rev.* A rebel hanging on a gallows; two, suppliant. *Leg.* MORE REBELS A COMEING. *Diam.* $1\frac{1}{4}$. *Cab.* Hawkins. *æn.*

63. Bust of Prince Charles, to the right. *Rev.* A sapling rising from the root of an old withered trunk. *Leg.* REVIRESCIT. *Ex.* 1750. *Diam.* $1\frac{3}{8}$. *Cab.* Hunter. *arg.* Trattle. *arg.* Hawkins. *æn.*

64. A Thistle. *Leg.* FLORESCAT ET PUNGAT. *Rev.* A trophy of Arms. *Leg.* CON. R. C. S. HOC. NVM. D. EX. PRÆ. IAC. 1750. *Diam.* $1\frac{5}{16}$. *Cab.* Hawkins. *æn.*

65. Bust of Prince Charles, to the right. *Leg.* REDEAT MAGNUS ILLE GENIUS BRITANNIÆ. *Rev.* Britannia stands on the shore watching the approach of ships. *Leg.* O DIU DESIDERATA NAVIS. *Ex.* LÆTAMINI CIVES SEPT. XXIII. MDCCLII. *Diam.* $1\frac{3}{4}$. *Cab.* Hunter. *Bodl.* Trattle. Hawkins. *arg.*

66. Bust to right, in cardinal's robes and cap. *Leg.* HENRICVS. M. D. EP. TVSC. CARD. DVX. EBOR. S. R. E. V. CANC. FILIPPO. CROPAÑESE. F. *Rev.* Religion holding a bible, and supporting the cross; at her feet lie a Lion, a ducal coronet, and a cardinal's hat; above, are heavenly rays; St. Peter's Church in the distance. *Leg.* NON. DESIDERIIS. HOMINVM. SED. VOLVNTATE. DEI. *Ex.* AN. MDCCLXVI. *Diam.* 2. *Cab.* Hawkins. *arg. &c. &c.*

67. Bust to left, in mantle. *Leg.* CAROLVS. III. N. 1720. M. B. F. ET. H. REX. 1766. *Rev.* Bust to left, in mantle, hair drawn up tight behind, in formal curls at the sides. *Leg.* LVDOVICA. M. B. F. ET. H. REGINA. 1772. *Diam.* $1\frac{1}{4}$. *Cab.* Hawkins. *æn. &c. &c.*

68. A female bust to the left, hair drawn up tight behind, disposed at the sides in formal curls; slight drapery on the shoulders. *Leg.* LVDOVICA. CAR. III. M. B. F. ET. H. REG. $1\frac{5}{16}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$. *Cab.* Hunter. *Trattle. arg.* This medal is always chased, and without reverse.

69. The Royal Arms of Great Britain, surmounted by a ducal coronet and a cardinal's hat. *Rev.* HENRICVS CARDINALIS DVX EBOR. S. R. E. VICECANCELRIVS SEDE VACAN. 1774. *Diam.* $1\frac{3}{8}$. *Cab.* B. Mus. *pewt.* Hawkins. *arg.* In the Brit. Mus. is another of these pieces, also of pewter, with the date 1769.

70. Bust to right, in cardinal's robes and cap. *Leg.* HEN. IX. MAG. BRIT. FR. ET. HIB. REX. FID. DEF. CARD. EP. TVSC.—G. HAM. F. *Rev.* Religion holding a bible, supporting the cross; at her feet lie a Lion, the British Crown, and a Cardinal's Hat. In the distance, St. Peter's Church and a Bridge. *Leg.* NON. DESIDERIIS. HOMINVM. SED. VOLVNTATE. DEI. *Ex.* AN. MDCCLXXXVIII. *Diam.* 2. *Cab.* Hawkins. *æn. &c. &c.*

71. The Editor has seen a Medallion in plaister, apparently the obverse of a Medal, bearing the same head of Prince Charles as No. 55. with the words, LOOK, LOVE, AND FOLLOW.

LETTER CCCCLVI.

*Andrew Mitchell Esq. to the Earl of Holderness.
Collins, the courier for England, robbed of his
Despatches at the Gate of Berlin.*

[MITCHELL PAPERS, BRIT. MUS. vol. i. fol. 16. MR. MITCHELL'S
OWN COPY.]

* * With Mr. Mitchell's Mission to the Court of Berlin the Reader is acquainted. He left England April the 18th. and arrived at Berlin May 8th. 1756. In this and some accompanying Letters it will be seen that the patience and address of the new Ambassador were very soon put to a severe trial.

Berlin, Saturday 29th. May, 1756.

MY LORD,

THE anxiety I have felt for these last eight and forty hours cannot be expressed. The cause of it was this; on Thursday the 27th. I despatched Collins with Letters to your Lordship, wrote with that freedom which the security of the conveyance justified. He received from my own hand the Packet, about half an hour after eleven at night, and he set out from the Inn where I am still lodged, a quarter past midnight in a post waggon. In about an hour afterwards, he returned, and gave me an account of what had happened to him as follows.

That he had put up the Despatches in his port-

mantle, which together with his saddle was put upon a post waggon; that he had several times felt for the portmantle, as he was agoing from my house towards the Gate of the Town, and found every thing right; that at a very small distance from the Gate, he perceived the portmantle was gone; that he immediately stopped the postilion, got a candle and searched all the way back to my house, but found nothing. I instantly wrote to Count Podewils to acquaint him with what had happened to the Courier, desiring the aid of the Magistrate and of the military upon so extraordinary an occasion. Orders were forthwith given, and I sent Letters to the Commandant of the Town and to the Lieutenant of the Police. All this was done before day-break.

Unhappily there was a grand review of the troops that Morning, and it was impracticable to get at the King, as he was to be on horseback by five in the Morning. I went to the review, hoping to have an opportunity to tell his Majesty what had happened, but found it impossible to speak with him in the field. I told my story to his first Aide-de-Camp, and I withdrew before the review was quite over in order to be early at Court.

So soon as his Majesty came, he expressed to me in a very gracious manner his concern for what had happened, and immediately gave Orders to his Generals and to his Officers of Justice to make the strictest search

possible, and to be sure to do every thing *pour eclaircir cette affaire*, which he had very much at heart.

His Majesty, at my request, was pleased to promise an indemnity, and I desired Count Podewils, Count Finkenstein and the Lieutenant de Police to offer any reward they pleased, which I should pay forthwith. They have fixed this at fifty Ducats: and the same was proclaimed by beat of drum all over the Town instantly. The Courier has given a specification of every thing contained in his Portmantle, which the Lieutenant of Police gave notice of to the principal Jews in this Town. The military are very active to make the discovery, and though there are twenty thousand soldiers now in Berlin, I confess I have little suspicion of them, such is their discipline and regularity.

Notwithstanding all these precautions (and more I could not think of) nothing has yet appeared; and I write this by post to acquaint your Lordship with what has happened, in case I should not be able to despatch Collins, so as to reach the Packet of this day sevensnight. My intention is to send him off early on Monday morning, and I am now preparing Copies of my Despatches of last Thursday, to be transmitted to your Lordship; and I hope, at the same time, to be able to send a Copy of the *Procès verbal* that has been taken concerning this unlucky affair.

I say publicly that I suspect nobody; and indeed it would be injurious to mention the reports and con-

jectures that this robbery, or more properly theft, has occasioned at Berlin. But I trust to the King's justice, and to the cordiality with which he acts, for a full discovery.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

LETTER CCCCLVII.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holderness. His Interview with the King of Prussia respecting the lost Despatches.

[IBID. fol. 20 b. MR. MITCHELL'S OWN COPY.]

(*Most secret.*)

Berlin, Thursday 3^d. June, 1756.

MY LORD,

LAST Sunday morning the 30th. May, the King sent for me privately. After expressing his concern for what had happened, and assuring me that every thing should be done to facilitate the discovery, he asked what I had wrote concerning Russia, &c. I told him fairly the contents of my Letters, and offered, if his Majesty pleased, to bring the rough draughts of my Letters and translate them to him myself. He said there was no occasion. He was satisfied; and owned that I had

not mistaken his meaning; but he seemed uneasy that the Letters were not yet found, notwithstanding the orders he had given.

When I told the King what I had wrote concerning the Prince of Hesse, he said I will deny that I ever said such things, and lay it upon You. I will tell him that you are an enthusiast, and so zealous a Protestant that you cannot think with candor of one that has changed his religion.^a To this I agreed.

I likewise owned to him what I had wrote to your Lordship about the communication of intelligence. He seemed pleased with my openness, and said the Cypher must be used for the future with any thing that I tell you. I gave him my word that it should.

The King then read to me a private Letter of Intelligence dated from Paris the 21st. of May. It was wrote in Cypher.

* * * * *

I must now acquaint your Lordship with two things that give me real pain, as they come through my channel; but the King's service must and ever shall take place of every other consideration.

Count Podewils told me that some secret Letters from Petersburg bear that Sir Charles Williams, having rendered himself very obnoxious by his inso-

^a The Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel who had married a daughter of King George the Second, had about this time been prevailed upon to embrace the Roman Catholic Religion. Great doubts were entertained whether this change would not exclude him from the succession to the Landgraviate. He however succeeded to it in 1760) and died in 1785.

lent behaviour, had every thing to fear, not only for his own person, but with regard to his dignity as Ambassador, which he feared might be affronted. He concluded by saying that Russia was of the utmost importance. He wished we had a wise man there.

Another thing he mentioned to me was that Mr. Cressener had made himself disagreeable to the Elector of Cologne by his indiscreet manner of talking, and that he should not have been accredited to the Circle. I told him Cressener was not, and that he had only a Letter to the Senate of Cologne. He told me I was mistaken, and desired me to write about it; for says he, "Though the Elector cannot be gained, he ought not to be affronted."

* * * * *

I have the honour, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

LETTER CCCCLVIII.

*Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holderness. The
discovery of the Thief.*

[IBID. fol. 18 b.]

Berlin, Thursday 3^d. June, 1756.

MY LORD,

I TAKE the liberty to send your Lordship a Copy of

my Letter of the 29th. May, and I shall now give your Lordship an account of the success of our inquiries into that affair.

I saw the King on Sunday morning. He appeared to me resolved to be at the bottom of the affair, as there were some circumstances that gave ground for suspicion, which your Lordship will find in the Paper marked A.^a For this reason I suppose, as well as on account of what is contained in my *most secret* Letter of this date, his Majesty was pleased to renew his offer of pardon, and to promise a reward of Two Hundred Ducats for the discovery; but all this had no effect.

President Kirkhaisen, Lieutenant of Police, had given to the Jewish Elders a Copy of the Specification of the Things contained in the Messenger's Portmantle; this was read in the Synagogue on Saturday, and notice was given at the house of every Jew of the theft committed.

Sunday, about three in the afternoon, a Jewish woman brought three guineas to the house of the Lieute-

^a "A.

"As the Reports spread about here are very injurious to the French and Austrian Ministers, and some people were wild enough to name Monsieur de Valori, I openly and loudly declared that I believed Him, and every other Minister here incapable of being concerned in such an affair.

"Monsieur de Peubla wanted to send a Courier to Vienna. He sent several times on Saturday for an Order for post horses (which here must be signed by the Secretary of State and the Governor or Commandant of the Town). This was shifted off till Sunday morning; but the impatience he shewed on this occasion increased the suspicion against him, and, I found, made an impression on the King and his Ministers. I still said that I believed him innocent, and that only some low thief was concerned, and that this Courier was despatched to inform the Court of Vienna of the Prince of Hesse's having entered into the Prussian Service. I am of opinion that this incident increased his Majesty's keenness to make the discovery."

nant of Police, which she said she had received of a joiner and his daughter that came to buy linen of her on Friday about ten o'clock in the morning. The house where the joiner lodged was immediately searched. He denied every thing; but the daughter being intimidated, confessed "that the theft had been committed by her brother, that he brought the Portmantle home about one o'clock on Friday morning, that it was not opened till eight o'clock, that her brother gave her three guineas, and at the same time gave one guinea and four ducats to the father, and kept the rest to himself," (there were in the Portmantle twenty-five ducats, four guineas, and four half-guineas) "and that all the other things" (the Messenger's frock only excepted, which had been produced and sworn to) "and the Despatches were immediately burnt." She added, that if he, Lieutenant of Police, "would go to the house, he would find the ashes in the poil or furnace where they were burnt:" this he immediately did, and he has shewn me the cake of ashes, about which still is to be seen the remains of the wax cloth in which the Messenger had wrapped the Despatch. The father, after some very severe floggings, has confessed and confirmed what his daughter had said; but the son who committed the theft is not yet found. I think it hardly possible he can escape, as every body here are upon their mettle, the King having signified his pleasure in so explicit a manner.

Upon the whole, I think it highly probable, every circumstance considered, the papers have been destroyed without being seen by any body.

So soon as the enquiry is finished, I shall send your Lordship a Copy of the *Proces verbal*; in the meantime, I despatch Collins, and I beg leave to recommend him to your Lordship's clemency, as he has behaved very well during his stay here.^a Had you seen him after the misfortune he would have greatly moved your compassion.

The King went to Potsdam last Monday afternoon. He will return to Berlin on Friday, and set out for Stetin on Saturday.

* * * * *

By the last post to Petersburg, I sent a Note to Sir C. H. Williams in Cypher, of which the inclosed is a Copy.^b

I have the honour, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

^a The Recommendation, however, was of small avail. Mr. Symmers, a private friend, and who will hereafter occur as a Correspondent of Mr. Mitchell's, June 18th. 1756, having congratulated him that his Pacquet had not fallen into the hands of the French, says, "In the meanwhile poor Collins remains the sufferer. Yesterday the Lord Chamberlain's Warrant came into our Office to suspend him from being Messenger, and to stop the payment of his bills and salary."

^b "To

" Sir C. H. Williams.

" Berlin, Sunday 30th. May, 1756.

" Sir,

" I have reason to believe that the Court of France have sent one Douglass to Petersburg in order to traverse your negotiations. It is surmised that Douglass has Letters of Credence ready to produce, and it is believed that he has a very large credit to be used for very bad purposes.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL."

LETTER CCCCLIX.

*Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holderness. The Stealer
of Collins's Portmantle brought to Berlin.*

[IBID. fol. 23 b.]

Berlin, Saturday 5th. June, 1756.

MY LORD,

HAVING wrote to your Lordship so fully by Collins of the 3^d. instant, I have only to add that yesterday the person that stole Collins's Portmantle was brought to Berlin. He was taken about seven German miles from hence disguised in the dress of a running Footman. He has already confessed every thing, and his Deposition agrees with what his Father and Sister had separately told. His name is David Bernard Cramer, aged nineteen years. By the account he gives, it appears that he did not know any thing of the Couriers going; but that happening to meet a waggon going slowly through the streets about midnight, he thought there might be something to pilfer. He has given a very distinct account of every thing he did, and of the company he was in the night the theft was committed; all which has been verified by the examination of the persons in whose company he was.

He says expressly, that upon opening the Portmantle about eight in the morning, and finding money concealed in one of Collins's stockings, He, his Father, and Sister, immediately divided the money, and after tearing open the despatches (thinking to find more money) they immediately put them into the poil or furnace, and set fire to them, for fear of being discovered.

The Lieutenant of Police has returned me sixteen ducats of Collins's money, which was found in the pockets of the thief, and he is quite convinced, after the most minute inquiry, that the theft was merely accidental, and that the letters were never seen by any body capable of reading them. The King, by what he said to me this morning, seems also to be thoroughly satisfied.

His Majesty came to Berlin this morning early. To-morrow he will set out for Stetin, and after the Reviews are over, return to Berlin the 9th. or 10th. instant. He then goes to Potsdam, and about the 20th. will set out to review his troops, &c. at Magdebourg.

I have the honour, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

MR. MITCHELL certainly professed to think it highly probable that the Papers had been destroyed without having been seen by any body. It is possible, however, that in his own breast he still retained a suspicion that they had previously passed under the inspection of His Prussian Majesty and his confidential decyphrer, and that this object rather than

the hope of pecuniary booty had been the motive by which the son of the Joiner was instigated to commit the theft. This suspicion certainly had presented itself to other persons not unacquainted with the Court of Berlin. Mr. Titley, at that time the British Ambassador at Copenhagen, writing to Mr. Mitchell, on the 15th. June, says,

“I could tell you that your case is by no means singular. I have heard formerly of its having happened more than once at your place, where thieves are sometimes as dexterous and watchful to steal Despatches, as they can be at London to take a purse.”

Mr. Mitchell makes no mention of David Bernard Cramer, the stealer of the Despatches, having been brought to justice, or punished. The English Newspapers of the time, certainly represented him to have been hung within a few hours of his having been taken.

LETTER CCCCLX.

Robert Symmer, Esq. to Mr. Mitchell. The Toulon Squadron sailed for Port Mahon.

[MITCHELL PAPERS, vol. xxxviii. fol. 1. Orig.]

London, 27th. April, 1756.

* * * * *

WE have no other news of a public nature, and that is of any importance, but an Account of the Sailing of the Toulon Squadron the 12th. of this month, for the Siege of Port Mahon, as is supposed. This, however, does not seem to alarm us much. The military people who know any thing of the matter, are of opinion the French will not carry the place at a brush; but that the Garrison will be able, if not to repel them,

at least to hold them in play till Admiral Byng comes up, when the fate of the place may come to depend upon the success on another element.

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LETTER CCCCLXI.

*Mr. Symmer to Mr. Mitchell. The unaccountable
behaviour of the English Fleet.*

[IBID. fol. 3. Orig.]

London, 18th. June, 1756.

* * * * *

I PRESUME my Letters of the 28th. May and the 1st. of June have come to your hands. Since that time, our Prospect of Affairs abroad has greatly changed from what it then was. We were then in the highest expectation of good news from the Mediterranean. How the good people here (who are always too ready to be elevated or dejected) must have been struck with the account (transmitted from Paris to the Spanish Minister here, by an Extract of Gallissonier's Letter) of the strange and unaccountable behaviour of our Fleet, will be easier for you to imagine than me to tell. Many did not believe it; and some do not believe it to this day; and it must be confessed, that it is at

least very strange that for so long a time as from the 20th. of last month, we should have no other Account of that Action than the Letter abovementioned, or what seems to transpire involuntarily from France. Nay, it must be owned, that some circumstances come almost daily to light, to make us hope to hear of something better than what we had at first imagined in consequence of the Battle. Letters from Barcelona of the 26^h. of last month mention four or five Men of War of the French met with at Sea greatly hurt, and almost unable to make any Port. At the same time a Letter from Lord Drumlea at Gibraltar of the 28^h. says that Byng's Fleet had not returned thither, and that they had had no accounts of them. It is likewise confidently affirmed (by what channel the news comes I know not) that Blakeney held out still, the 29th. Now, if it be possible for him to hold out a little longer, there may yet be hopes entertained of the Relief of Port Mahon and of the brave and gallant officer who defends it: for it cannot be long e're Broderick (who sailed with four Ships of the Line from Plymouth the 30th. of May) comes up with Byng, which must enable, and in a manner compel the Fleet to make another, and it is to be hoped a more successful Attempt (if it be not already done by a second engagement) to drive the French from before the Port. At all events, we are to trust to it, that when Hawke and Saunders arrive at the Fleet, and take upon them the command of it,

we shall again recover the dominion of the Mediterranean; as the arrival of Lord Tyrawley and Panmure will put the Garrison of Gibraltar upon a better footing, and free us from the apprehension of losing that important Place likewise.

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LETTER CCCCLXII.

Lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell. The arrival of Admiral Byng's Despatches. His neglect to relieve Port Mahon after beating the French. Reinforcements sent out. The Public despond.

[MITCHELL PAPERS, vol. xxxv. fol. 1. Orig.]

* * William Wildman Viscount Barrington of Ireland, was born in January 1717, and became Member for Berwick in 1740. Master of the Great Wardrobe in 1754, and in the following year Secretary at War. Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1761, and Treasurer of the Navy in 1762. In July 1765 he was re-appointed Secretary at War. He quitted the House of Commons in May 1778, and the War Office in December. In 1781 he was appointed Joint Postmaster General, but was removed in 1782. He died February the 3^d. 1793.

Cavendish Square, 24th. June, 1756.

I SHOULD have sent you an earlier account, my dear Mitchell, of Sir Alexander Gilmour's being appointed an Ensign in the first Regiment of Guards, if I had

not been desirous to stay till I could furnish you with some Intelligence concerning our Affairs in the Mediterranean which might be trusted and believed. The French Accounts never deserve any confidence, and never deserved less than at present, when they have formally communicated to the Ministers residing at Paris a Naval Victory in the Mediterranean which has really turned out a Defeat. Admiral Byng's despatches arrived yesterday, and acquaint us with the particulars of the Action which happened on the 19th. May. It consisted only in a cannonading of four hours, the French avoiding a close engagement. Their ships were cleaner and went better than ours, and they were under sail the whole time. At night the French separated entirely from our Squadron, and were not to be seen the next day, though we *lay to* in the place where the Action happened; so the field of Battle was ours. The French Squadron most certainly behaved ill, and ours did not make use of several advantages with which they were furnished by fortune or the misconduct of the enemy. Mr. Byng remained off Mahon (though at some leagues distant from it) till the 25th. and then——(you will be filled with astonishment and indignation when you hear it) returned to Gibraltar without renewing the fight, though he once perceived the enemy from his topmast head; without landing or attempting to land any succours; without even trying to send a Letter to General Blakeney, or

knowing more of the Island he was sent to defend, than that the King's colours still appeared in St. Phillips. By this retreat, the inferior and beaten Fleet of France remained master of those Seas, and was enabled to throw whatever their army wanted into the Island. The English Squadron was less damaged than the French, superior in number of ships of the line, still more superior in number of guns, weight of metal, and strength of ships; but most of all in seamen; for Byng's Squadron was more than complete as to men at the time of engagement, and no ships ever went from hence better manned. By this time you have concluded that our Admiral was mad, and you have blamed his officers for not confining him. Alas! they were as infatuated as their chief; for the retreat was made in consequence of a Council of War at which Major General Stuart and three Colonels who were sent to their posts in Minorca improperly assisted. This Council unanimously advised the return to Gibraltar for reasons which I am ashamed even to repeat.

You have undoubtedly heard of another extraordinary Council of War at Gibraltar, and of General Fowke's disobedience of his orders to send a Battalion to Minorca on board Admiral Byng's Fleet; in consequence of which Lord Tyrawley has been sent to supersede General Fowke; and on a suspicion too well verified since, Sir Edward Hawke, and Captain Saunders lately made an Admiral, went to replace Admirals

Byng and West. This cargo of courage, the richest which has ever been embarked on board any ship since the expedition of the Argonauts, sailed last week in the Antelope, and I hope will arrive at Gibraltar before Admiral Byng returns to Minorca, with five large ships of the line which had been sent from hence to reinforce his squadron.

The Duke of Cumberland, who has hitherto judged exactly right with relation to every event of the Siege of St. Phillips, not only hopes but thinks our Garrison may hold out till the new Commanders arrive at Minorca. It is certain the French have made many mistakes, and very little progress. The Duke de Richlieu's conduct is much blamed in France, perhaps unjustly, for he has great difficulties to encounter, such as I think he could never have surmounted if the Duke of Cumberland's Plan of defence had taken place. Perhaps you have not heard distinctly what that Plan was, and therefore I will shortly explain it to you. Once in a fortnight or three weeks a fresh Battalion was to be thrown into St. Phillips, with every thing which the Garrison wanted: the sick, the wounded, and every nuisance was to have been removed by the same ships which brought the relief, and carried to Gibraltar: I mean such wounded soldiers as could be removed. Every supply was to have been cut off from the French, and their small army left to struggle with sickness, climate, and want. It is plainly evident.

this Plan was as practicable as any thing of that nature can be. Regiments and ships went continually from hence, Batallions were ordered from Gibraltar; our Fleet (though it lagged by the way) was superior, and beat the enemy, I may say, *in spite of our teeth*. The fort is open towards the sea, and can only be invested towards the land. Our passage to Minorca (though longer than could reasonably have been expected) brought the Fleet in time. The Governor of Gibraltar and our Admiral have defeated every thing; and having destroyed a moral certainty of success, leave us nothing but faint hopes.

It is determined to make some severe examples. I am sorry the last war as well as the present show the want of more noble motives.

You may perhaps have heard that our Fleet went too late to the Mediterranean. Do not believe it could have gone sooner, or at the time it went stronger, without destroying the effect of our Western Squadron which must always be superior to the enemy's; and which has hitherto by that superiority protected all our trade, taken almost all the trade of France, and prevented the succours intended to be sent from thence to America, where we have a very great Army, which took the field in May.

Our countrymen, according to custom, despond. I never will till I see good reason; nay, till no hope or means are left. I regard war as an accompt debtor

and creditor of loss and mischief between two nations. There must be Articles on both sides, and the utmost you can expect is, that the balance of Distress shall be at last in your favour: hitherto it is so.

I am obliged to write in great haste, and have not time to correct, or have copied over fair what I have written; but you can excuse every thing in, dear Mitchell,

Your most faithful and
obedient humble servant,

BARRINGTON.

LETTER CCCCLXIII.

*Mr. Symmer to Mr. Mitchell. The continuance of
Public disappointment.*

[IBID. vol. xxxviii. fol. 5. *Orig.*]

Whitehall, 9th. July, 1756.

* * * * *

WE have now been destitute of public news for upwards of a fortnight: but we wait for Intelligence from the Mediterranean, and look for it every day with a degree of impatience that cannot easily be expressed. After the terrible disappointment we had in Byng's unaccountable behaviour, not only in the pitiful Action

he had with the French, but in his return to Gibraltar and abandoning the gallant Blakeney and his brave garrison to the fate of a cruel Siege; we remain in a manner inconsolable, and have nothing to raise our hopes but the expectation of Hawke and Saunders arriving in time to take the command of the Fleet from Byng, and fly to the relief of Port Mahon, if happily it should be able to hold out so long. What increases our anxiety is, lest Byng (to whom some of his friends, it is said, have sent expresses both by Land and Sea, to let him know what is thought of his conduct in England) should seize the opportunity of Broderick's arrival, and by making a desperate, but yet perhaps another cowardly attempt upon the French, irretrievably ruin our affairs there. Whatever the event may be we must now soon know.

* * * * *

LETTER CCCCLXIV.

Mr. Symmer to Mr. Mitchell. Port Mahon lost. The Indignation against Admiral Byng's conduct, general.

[IBID. fol. 7. Orig.]

London, 6th. Aug. 1756.

* * * * *

I TAKE it for granted you have a full and distinct

c c 2

account of the late unhappy event of the loss of Port Mahon.

* * * * *

You cannot imagine what a general Indignation appears on the score of Byng's dastardly and unaccountable behaviour. A Notion prevailed some days since that he had come up to Town. Upon this a gentleman, who it seems had the misfortune to resemble Byng in person, was pointed out in one of the streets of the City for the Admiral, and if happily some people had not come up and rescued him by declaring who he was, he would have been torn to pieces by the mob. You will find by the public papers that a Captain and a party of sixty dragoons had gone down to Portsmouth to bring him up, and to-day it was expected he would have been safely lodged in the Tower. Perhaps he may be by this time arrived: but a few hours ago there was a surmise that he was still at Portsmouth, or rather on board of the *Man of War*, the party having found it impossible to conduct him so much as through the streets of Portsmouth without exposing him and themselves to insult.

* * * * *

LETTER CCCCLXV.

*The Earl of Holderness to Andrew Mitchell, Esq.
A Change taking place in the Administration.*

[MITCHELL PAPERS. vol. xviii. fol. 77. Orig.]

(*Private.*)

London, Nov. 3^d. 1756.

DEAR MITCHELL,

THE circumstances alluded to in my office Letter are the confusion that reigns in the interior. We have literally no Administration, and God only knows when we shall have one. Touch lightly upon the subject to the King,^a tell him something of our Parties, talk of Pitt, Fox, &c. Tell him what you have seen and what you know of men and manners in this Country, but don't let him take any alarm at our wild, inconsiderate, precipitate way of acting. We are not squabbling about measures, but about men. Our Alliance with him must and will be supported by all sides. How long I shall be your correspondent I cannot guess. Whether I go out or stay in, you shall not blush for me. I act upon honest principles. My fortune may, but my character shall not suffer.

• The King of Prussia.

Adieu dear Mitchel, in the present scene of hurry
and bustle I have scarce time to assure you that I am
ever yours,

HOLDERNESSE.

Mr. Mitchel.

LETTER CCCCLXVI.

*The Earl of Holderness to Mr. Mitchell. His Lord-
ship at the head of the Administration.*

[MITCHELL PAPERS. vol. xviii. fol. 81. Orig.]

(*Private.*)

London, Nov. 26th. 1756.

DEAR SIR,

THE short hints I have thrown out to you from
time to time, as well as the unusual cessation of my
public Letters, must have let you *partly* understand
the confusion that reigned here for some time past;
things begin to take a shape; how long it may last I
cannot judge, but happen what may, I think your
affairs at Berlin will certainly go right.

Mr. Pitt has been laid up with a severe fit of the
gout ever since his nomination to the Office, which has
greatly retarded business. I think his opinions upon
Foreign Affairs *now he is in place* are exactly the same
with mine, however different they were some time ago.
Tempora mutantur et nos, &c. I hope you will never

find that maxim applicable to your old friend in Arlington Street.

I know long ago of some *private Letters* wrote to you by the D. of N.^a You were in the right not to discover a secret intrusted to you, but though (for reasons you know) I bore this from *him*, such matters must cease for the future with *others*. I therefore insist that I may know directly if any other person in the Administration offers to correspond with you. While I remain in business I will do the duty of my office *myself*, and without submitting to those disagreeable interruptions I have met with from others; nor will I henceforward be led by persons of my own age and less experience. In short, dear Mitchel, if I stay in I must now have my share of the Cake, and if you hear I continue, depend upon it I have succeeded in what I think just and reasonable pretensions. A volume would not explain to you the transactions of these last six weeks. I have five Administrations in one day, and none existing at night.

The Duke of Newcastle is great in his retreat, and does himself great honour by the manner in which he bears what his enemies only call a disgrace.

The Parliament will produce a motley scene next week. You are happy to be out of the scrape.

* * * * *

Ever most truly yours,

HOLDERNESSE.

* Duke of Newcastle.

LETTER CCCCLXVII.

Mr. Symmer to Mr. Mitchell. Admiral Byng capitally convicted.

[IBID. vol. xxxviii. fol. 34. Orig.]

London, 28th. Jan. 1757.

MY DEAR MITCHELL,

I WRITE a few lines to acquaint you that this morning about seven o'clock an express arrived at the Admiralty, with an account that Admiral Byng was capitally convicted, and was to be shot within a few days. After what I wrote to you in my last of the 21st. of this month you will perhaps be surprised at this News; but I can assure you your case is not singular; the most of people here are as much surprised as you can be: not that they either thought he ought, or that they wished he would be acquitted; but the accounts that had come from Portsmouth for about a week or two past had been so favourable for Byng, that it was generally concluded he would have been acquitted, and some went so far as to say that it would be to his honour. Nay at this very time we are assured he had his Post-Chaises standing daily, nay hourly, ready, to carry him to London as it were in triumph: and yesterday I saw a gentleman who is intimate with some of his relations, and

who told me they were in hourly expectation of his arrival at London, taking it for granted he would be as expeditious in his journey as any messenger that could bring the accounts of his acquittal. I was to-day further informed from very good hands, that a gentleman who dined with him on Tuesday last says, that after dinner Mr. Byng told him that as soon as he should come to Town, he would resume his Seat in the House of Commons, and return the charge upon his enemies by an accusation, the heads of which he read to this gentleman. All this can only be accounted for by observing, that there were a number of people employed by him to write by every post from Portsmouth, giving the most favourable accounts imaginable of the progress of his Trial, and filling all the newspapers with paragraphs to the same purpose, at the same time that he himself, and all about him, affected a shew of the most sanguine hopes, or rather of a state of absolute security. Certain it is, however, that his Court Martial, upon the closing of the evidence, were not without their difficulties. They took no less than a week to come to their final resolution. This is imputed to the tenderness, or perhaps to the partiality of some, who endeavoured, though in vain, to save him.

A very odd circumstance was thrown in after the close of the Evidence which has afforded matter of speculation. A Letter came from M. Voltaire addressed to Mr. Byng, which was stopped at the Post-

office, brought to Lord Holderness, and opened. This contained an original Letter from the D. de Richlieu to M. Voltaire, in which he declared that Mr. Byng had acted like a brave and a prudent Admiral in the Engagement; and that as the French were greatly superior in men, and in the condition of their ships to the English on that occasion, had Mr. Byng obstinately persisted in a closer engagement, he must by that have given up the English Fleet to sure destruction.

You may judge whether that attestation could have been of great service to Mr. Byng. Many are of opinion that this *Certificate* of good behaviour had been begged by him or his friends. A report goes that the Court Martial have recommended the criminal to the mercy of the K. Whatever foundation there may be for this, it is not imagined that the K. will pay the least attention to it. We have no other News here at present. Shall I not hear from you soon? I ever am,

Dear Mitchell,

Yours, &c.

LETTER CCCCLXVIII.

Mr. Symmer to Mr. Mitchell. The rigor of Admiral Byng's Sentence.

[IBID. fol. 36. *Orig.*]

London, Febr. the 1st. 1757.

MY DEAR MITCHELL,

I SEND you the slip of the Newspaper herewith enclosed, as a supplement to my Letter of Friday last. If you have not had any other copy of the Sentence against Admiral Byng transmitted to you, this ought not to be unwelcome, for you may depend upon its being authentic. You will see what a strange Sentence it is. Our friend Hillsborough had a very just observation upon it, that it was not so much a Sentence against Admiral Byng as against the Law; and that instead of condemning the Admiral they condemned the Law to be shot. There is so much in this, that it is reported, I am afraid with too much foundation, that some of high rank in the Navy, as well as some Captains, declare they will not serve under the rigor of so hard and unequitable a law, as it subjects their lives and reputations to the judgment a Court Martial may form of what they may please to call a neglect of

duty, though perhaps the Commander regulated his conduct on what appeared to be best at that time. It is even said an application will be made to Parliament to alter this Clause of the Act; an Act, so much the more remarkable on this occasion as it seems Admiral Byng was one of those who contributed much to carry it to this degree of rigor.

In the meanwhile all the world agrees, that it was a cruel thing to throw the determination on the King, who is in a manner told in the Sentence that he ought to pardon Byng, notwithstanding that he has in a solemn manner declared in his Answer to the Address of the City of London that he will allow Law and Justice to have their course. The City begin already to sound this very high. It is assigned as a reason why the Court Martial threw this hard task upon the King; that, it seems, they were divided in their opinions; five were for convicting him capitally, four for no more than breaking him, and the remaining four for acquitting him. In this variance of judgment they continued disputing it for six days together, till at last they agreed to compromise it in the manner they have done.

* * * * *

I ever am, dear Mitchell,

Yours, &c.

LETTER CCCCLXIX.

*Mr. Symmer to Mr. Mitchell. The Opinion of the
Judges taken upon Admiral Byng's Sentence.*

[IBID. fol. 38. *Orig.*]

London, 8th. Febr. 1757.

* * * * *

THE fate of Byng is what occupies almost every head, and opens almost every mouth in London. The popular torrent is against him. The King, it is said, has declared he will not interpose in the matter; he will not, he says, interrupt the course of Justice; and as it is the business of the Admiralty Board to sign the dead warrant of those condemned by a Naval Court Martial, he leaves them to proceed as the Law in such a case directs. The question recurs, what does the Law direct in the case of so extraordinary a Sentence? It is reported, and, as I am informed, upon good foundation, that the twelve Judges are this evening or to-morrow to meet his Majesty's Cabinet Council, to give their Opinion with regard to this matter.

* * * * *

I ever am sincerely yours, &c.

LETTER CCCCLXX.

Mr. Symmer to Mr. Mitchell. A Motion made in the House of Commons for the mitigation of the rigor of Admiral Byng's Sentence. The Examination of the Members of his Court Martial by the Lords.

[IBID. fol. 40. Orig.]

London, March the 4th. 1757.

MY DEAR MITCHELL,

SINCE my last Letter to you of the 8th. of last month the attention of the public has been almost entirely taken up with what has passed with regard to Admiral Byng's extraordinary Sentence. The Admiralty Board, to whom it belonged to order the Sentence to be carried into execution, demurred to the legality of it, and humbly requested his Majesty that the opinion of the twelve Judges might be taken upon it. In consequence of this, it was laid before the Judges, who returned an unanimous opinion that it was legal. The Lords of the Admiralty thereupon, with his Majesty's consent, signed the Dead Warrant appointing him to be shot as upon Monday last. In the mean while a motion was made in the House of Commons by Sir Fr. D——d, and supported strongly by Mr. P. and the new M——ry, to take into consideration the 12th.

Article (that upon which Admiral Byng had been tried and condemned) and to give leave to bring in a Bill to mitigate the rigor of it. As this was, in other words, to move for an Address to reprieve or rather pardon Mr. Byng, which must of course have followed, the House considering it in that light evidently shewed their disapprobation of the motion; and upon Lord Barr—n's proposing to put the previous question, Mr. P. who saw that it would be lost for Mr. Byng by a most extraordinary majority, desired that Sir Fr. might withdraw his motion. This attempt, beside the application of some in the Ministry humbly made to his M——ty for mercy, having failed of success, another expedient was set on foot in behalf of Mr. Byng. Sir Fr. acquainted the House that several of the late Members of the Court Martial, as he was informed, were under great uneasiness of mind on account of the Sentence passed on Admiral Byng, and that they were of opinion that if they were by Act of Parliament discharged from their Oath of Secrecy they had taken, they could disclose matters that might shew the said Sentence to be improper. This was confirmed by Mr. Keppel, one of the late Members of the Court Martial and Member of Parliament, who rose up in his place and declared that to be his opinion, as also the opinion of four others of the said Court Martial. Upon this a Cabinet Council was held, and the Message, a copy of which I here send you enclosed, was brought to the

House. In that message you will observe that an inaccuracy with regard to one of the great privileges of the House had inadvertently been suffered to slip, which you may be sure did not fail to be animadverted upon in very strong terms. Nevertheless, after much opposition, it was unanimously agreed upon that such a Bill might be brought in, which was thereupon immediately presented, read twice, committed, and ordered to be engrossed, and Tuesday last it was brought up to the Lords. Their Lordships received this extraordinary Bill in quite a different manner than the Commons had. Lord Mansfield and Lord Hardwicke took the lead, and shewed, with great strength of reasoning, that such a Bill could not be suffered to pass with any sort of propriety, unless it appeared to their Lordships, by sufficient evidence at their bar, that there was suitable and most undoubted ground to found an Act of such an extraordinary nature upon. Whereupon it was resolved that all the late Members of the Court Martial should be ordered to attend their House as Wednesday last. On Wednesday they appeared; and such was the expectation of the public, that I think I never saw so crowded a House. Lord Mansfield, supported by Lord Hardwicke, seemed to take the management of the Affair upon him; and both acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of all. There were two plain questions put to every one of the Members of the Court Martial, called separately to the bar:

The first, "Do you know of any matter that pass'd previous to the Sentence of the Court Martial, that shows the Sentence to be unjust?" The second, "Do you know of any thing that pass'd that shows the Sentence to have been given from any undue practice or motive?" To each of these questions every one of the Members answered "No." It was further asked of every one of them, if they desired the Bill might pass into an Act to discharge them from their Oath of Secrecy? and all of them, excepting Mr. Keppel, Admiral Norris, and Captain Moor, answered, they did not desire it, but several added they had no objection to it, if it could give any satisfaction to others. A fourth question was put, viz. "If they could disclose any thing that might be necessary for his Majesty's information, or likely to incline his Majesty to mercy?" and all of them (excepting the three before mentioned) declared they could not, the most of them referring themselves upon the head of Mercy to what they had added to their sentence, and their Letter to the Lords of the Admiralty. Such was the purport, if not the very words of the questions put to them, the two last of which were from Lord Halifax; and such were their Answers, given in the clearest manner imaginable. Upon the whole, the conviction of the House was so strong, that there was no necessity of passing the Bill, that it was given up by the few Lords who favoured it: and the Proceedings thereupon, for the satisfaction of the Nation, were ordered

to be printed. As the ferment of the Public, especially of the City, has been very high upon this occasion, you will not be surprised to hear that some particular Gentlemen, one in particular, have greatly suffered in point of popularity from their conduct in this affair. V—lt—rs C——ll took the liberty to say in the House, in one of the debates, that Admiral Byng had been the ruin of the last A———n, and that he did not doubt but that he would be the ruin likewise of this. Many are of his opinion. You may hear more of this. Be surprised at nothing.

* * * * *

Mr. Byng's respite terminates Monday se'nnight, the 14th. instant, when if nothing, I may say, preternatural happens, he must be shot.

I am, my dear Mitchell,

Yours most sincerely.

LETTER CCCCLXXI.

Mr. Symmer to Mr. Mitchell. Admiral Byng has but three days to live.

[IBID. fol. 43.]

London, March 11, 1757.

* * * * *

As I find that the Proceedings in the House of

Lords in the Case of Admiral Byng do not make a Pamphlet of too large a size to go by the Post, I herewith forward it to you. The Trial is made up into a proper packet and waits at Lord Holderness's Office to go by the first Messenger that shall be despatched to you.

The unhappy subject of all this, Poor Byng, has but three days to live; Monday being fixed for the day of his execution, without the least apparent probability, I may say possibility, of a Reprieve, much less a pardon.

There is indeed a report current to-day, that the Common Council of the City have some sort of a desire of petitioning in his favour. If they should, it can be of no effect. They are so far from being the mouth of the City, that their voice runs counter, almost upon every great occasion, to the genuine voice of that respectable Body. If the King had thought fit to have spared Byng, and that such had been the prevailing wish of the people, the Common Council would certainly have petitioned against him.

With regard to the state of the present Administration I have little or nothing to add to my last Letter. Affairs are in a manner all afloat. The Dike of Popularity being broke down, they lie open to inundation. Nothing can save them, but that the different Streams may perhaps not be brought to unite in one main Current.

LETTER CCCCLXXII.

The Right Hon. William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, to Mr. Mitchell. Expresses his attachment to, and admiration of the King of Prussia.

[IBID. vol. xxii. fol. 3. *Orig.*]

(*Private.*)

Whitehall, March 31st. 1757.

SIR,

THE favour of your Letter from Dresden of the 12th. inst. is every way too interesting to remain one moment unacknowledged. The infinite condescension and gracious goodness of his Prussian Majesty towards me, I feel as I ought, and consequently can express but very inadequately the most grateful sentiments of veneration and zeal for a Prince, who stands the unshaken bulwark of Europe, against the most powerful and malignant confederacy that ever yet has threatened the independence of mankind.

I need not add, that I should be most unworthy of the honour of serving the best of Sovereigns, if my zeal for the prosperity and glory of so firm and magnanimous an Ally, did not endeavour to keep some pace with the sentiments of his Majesty's own royal breast. I will trust to your friendship to employ the

properest and most expressive terms to lay at the King of Prussia's feet my real sentiments of attachment and admiration.

I may now come to a very pleasing and valuable part of your Letter, where, in most obliging expressions, you mention old acquaintance and friendship. I shall have a particular pleasure in cultivating the honour of your kind remembrance, and desire you will remain assured that no one is with more truth and regard than myself,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble servant,

W. PITT.

LETTER CCCCLXXIII.

Mr. Symmer to Mr. Mitchell. The King and the Duke of Cumberland have the Gout for the first time.

[IBID. vol. xxxviii. fol. 113.]

London, 17th. Nov. 1758.

* * * *

THE King was taken ill of a cold upon his coming to Town Wednesday last week. That did not hinder

him to appear and to undergo the fatiguing honours of his Birth-day, Friday last, though every body took notice of the indisposition he labour'd under. He likewise made a shift to appear, for a few moments, the Sunday following. From that time he submitted to a confinement in his private apartments; every body was alarmed; on Wednesday and Yesterday a report was current in the City he was dead, and numbers of people hurried to the shops to buy their mourning clothes. No doubt but that something of this report will get into Foreign Gazettes. I think it therefore proper for me to tell you, and it is with the greatest satisfaction I give you the information, that this is nothing but a false alarm. His Majesty's indisposition has taken a very favourable turn. In short, it has ended in the Gout, and he is now confined to his chair, a good deal out of humour to be so confined, and pretty much in pain, but in other respects in very good health. This is a distemper that seems to be somewhat epidemical at present in the Royal Family. The Duke is confined to his apartment on the same account, and likewise for the first time; for neither His Majesty nor He had ever an avowed attack of the Gout before.

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LETTER CCCCLXXIV.

Mr. Pitt to Mr. Mitchell. The King of Prussia intercedes for the Pardon of the Lord Marischal. Mr. Pitt's veneration for the King of Prussia.

[IBID. vol. xxii. fol. 21. *Orig.*]

* * George tenth Earl Marischal was born about 1693, and succeeded his father in 1712. On February the 3^d. 1714, Queen Anne gave him the command of the Scottish troop of horse grenadier guards. He signed the Proclamation of King George the First August 1st. 1714; but being unacceptable to the Duke of Argyll he was deprived of his command. The Earl set out for Scotland in disgust, and in the following year entered rashly into the Rebellion.

An act of Attainder now passed against Earl Marischal, his titles, and hereditary office of Marischal of Scotland, which last had been in his family from the time of Malcolm the Second.

Escaping abroad, he returned to Scotland in 1719 with the Spanish troops sent by Cardinal Alberoni.

The Spaniards were defeated, and the Earl a second time escaped to the Continent.

He resided for some time in Spain in straitened circumstances, but at last went to Prussia, where he gained the friendship of Frederick III. who, in 1750, sent him his ambassador extraordinary to the Court of France; invested him with the Order of the Black Eagle; and gave him the government of Neufchatel. In 1759 he was ambassador from Prussia to the Court of Madrid, where discovering the secret of the Family Compact, by which the different branches of the House of Bourbon had bound themselves to assist each other, he communicated that important intelligence to Mr. Pitt, who representing his lordship's case to King George the Second, a pardon was granted to him May 29th. 1759.

From the Letter immediately before the Reader, and from the Letter which follows it, it will be seen that the King of Prussia had also interposed in his favour.* Having quitted Madrid, he came to England,

* Nor was Earl Marischal less indebted to the kindness of Sir Andrew Mitchell. In a Letter dated "Madrid ce 24 Aout 1759," he says, "I am most gratefully ac-

and was introduced to King George the Second, June 15th. 1760. His former disabilities were further removed by an Act of Parliament 33 Geo. II.

Having recovered a portion of his family estates under another act, stat. 1 Geo. III. c. 14.^a he intended to have settled in Scotland, and came there for a time; but at the King of Prussia's earnest solicitation he returned to Prussia, where he died at Potsdam May 28th. 1778.^b

Private.

SIR,

You will be informed by the Earl of Holderness, now returned from Bath, of the pleasure His Majesty took in complying with the wishes of the King of Prussia in favour of Lord Marshal; and I have only to add on the subject, that nothing was left for the King's servants to do on the occasion but to admire the generosity and clemency of two great Monarchs displaying themselves so amiably, and to be happy in the growing harmony and confidential friendship which daily manifest themselves between their Majesties.

knowledging of the goodness of both the Kings towards me, and also of your good offices, for I know by Baron Knyphausen that before he delivered the King of Prussia's Letter, the King of England was already disposed to grant my pardon. You had, it seems, previously prepared well the way, as I have writ to my friends in Scotland, that they may know the obligation I think I have to you.

* * * * *

"I know from Baron Knyphausen not only the King's goodness and clemency, but also the favour of his Ministers towards me; whatever more they shall add shall be with gratitude received; and to them I leave it."

^a Earl Marischal writes to Sir Andrew Mitchell, in the following terms, from London, February 22^d. 1761. "You will see perhaps by the public papers that my Bill has passed both Houses; the King made notify by his Ministers his consent. It would have passed in a way much more advantageous to me, had it not been for one Webb, a Member of Parliament, an attorney, and esteemed by all a K—— I do not mean a King. Had it not been for Mr. Nugent of the Treasury he had *furtive-ment* thrust into my Bill unperceived a clause which would have given to me and to my heirs, by Act of Parliament, a law-suit of fifty years.

"MARISCHALL."

^b Compare Wood's edit. of Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 196, 197.

The approbation the King of Prussia is pleased to express to you of the measures pursued, and of the fair and honest proceedings of the King's servants, fills me with the deepest satisfaction and sincerest joy for the public; at the same time that the distinguished protection and infinite condescension of that heroic monarch towards the least amongst them have indeed left me under impressions beyond the power of words, and in addition to all the warmest sentiments which my heart has long devoted to the greatest of Kings and pride of human nature, gratitude, that can only cease with my life, has completed the ties of inviolable attachment.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that, this day, the pecuniary succour to Prussia, and the subsidy to the Landgrave, together with nineteen thousand Hessians for this year, passed the Committee, with one voice only against it. I return you many thanks for your obliging presents, and desire you will be persuaded that I shall be happy in the occasions of testifying the great truth and consideration with which I remain,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

W. PITT.

Whitehall,
Jan. 26th. 1759.

LETTER CCCCLXXV.

*Lord Holdernessee to Mr. Mitchell, upon the Pardon of
the Lord Mareschal.*

[IBID. vol. xiv. fol. 4. *Orig.*]

Private.

Whitehall, Jan. 27th. 1759.

DEAR SIR,

As I hope soon to have occasion to despatch a messenger to you I shall give you little trouble by this post, but I could not forbear acquainting you, without loss of time, that in consideration of the King of Prussia's application His Majesty is pleased to consent to pardon the late Lord Marshall. You know the precautions that by the Constitution we are obliged to take, in Cases of Attainder for Treason by Act of Parliament, so that I cannot yet tell in what shape this affair will be carried into execution, but it will suffice for the present, that you should know it will be done.

* * * * *

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HOLDERNESSE.

Mr. Mitchell.

LETTER CCCCLXXVI.

*Mr. Pitt to Mr. Mitchell. His respect and reverence
for the King of Prussia.*

[IBID. vol. xxii. fol. 23. *Orig.*]

Whitehall, June the 12^h. 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I WILL not trouble you here with regard to my Despatch to Mr. Porter, a copy whereof, in your cypher, is transmitted to you by the Earl of Holdernessee in order to be communicated to the King of Prussia, and relative whereto Baron Knyphausen has writ so fully and so fairly to his Court. I will only say on this subject, that we do more than I dared to hope; indeed all that we possibly can; and far beyond that to which any imaginable consideration but the just weight of His Prussian Majesty, could ever have carried us.

What I sat down only to do, is to acknowledge the favour of your very obliging private Letter of the 20th. past, and to give some expressions in a short word, to the deep and lively sentiments of most respectful gratitude and veneration which such a testimony from such a Monarch must engrave for ever in a heart already filled with admiration and devotion.

Truly dear as His Prussian Majesty's interests are

to me, it is my happiness to be able to say, that if any servant of the King could forget (a thing, I trust, is impossible) what is due by every tie to such an Ally, I am persuaded His Majesty would soon bring any of us to our memory again. In this confidence I rest secure that whenever Peace shall be judged proper to come under consideration, *no* PEACE *of* UTRECHT will again stain the annals of England.

Accept yourself my best thanks for the obliging language you was so good to hold of an old acquaintance: and believe me with great truth and consideration,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. PITT.

LETTER CCCCLXXVII.

Mr. Symmer to Mr. Mitchell. The Expenses of the War. Lord George Sackville disgraced.

[IBID. vol. xxxviii. fol. 145. *Orig.*]

London, 14th. Sept. 1759.

* * * *

How much do I wish that all this bustle in Europe were over, and that I had you here, in the quiet Cabi-

net of Mount-street, to philosophise about *Electricity* and the hidden Powers of Nature.

To give you some little sketch of the political State of Affairs at home, I must acquaint you, that the late Successes his Majesty's Arms have been crowned with by Sea and Land, together with a certainty now of having nothing to fear with regard to an Invasion from France, have consolidated the power of the Minister who has been active in those measures, and raised him above all opposition. The only apparent difficulty the present Administration has to struggle with, is to supply the expenses of the war, if it should continue. It is computed that a sum not less than eighteen millions has been requisite to defray the charges of Government, civil and military, during the course of this year. This is a sum so immense, that, setting aside the debt that must accumulate upon it, there is not a nation in Europe could bear the burthen of it long. The weight of it begins to be felt by us in a very sensible manner; and indeed it is amazing, however forward people are to subscribe, that so much specie can be found as is necessary to effectuate that expense. Our comfort is that it must go as hard with our enemies, in consequence of which we may soon hope for Peace.

I take it for granted you are no stranger to what has been reported concerning the behaviour of Lord G. S——le at the Battle of Minden. He has been come home now some days; yet that does not silence the

hawkers, who every day have some new piece of scurrility against him, to bawl about the streets. The Pamphlets already wrote on the subject (none of which I have or shall read) are enough to compose Volumes. What is most material is, that he is stripped of all his military employments: and that when he *demand*ed a Court Martial, he was told he might go to Germany to have it, and might be assured that whatever sentence should be passed upon him there, would be confirmed here. In such a Country as E——d, and with a man of intrigue and abilities as Lord G. I should not be surprised if in six months hence the current runs another way.

LETTER CCCCLXXVIII.

Mr. Symmer to Mr. Mitchell. The death of General Wolf.

[IBID. fol. 143.]

London, Oct. 26, 1759.

* * * *

I TAKE it for granted you have had authentic accounts of our great success in America, as soon as it was possible for you to receive them. I should have been glad however to have thrown in my little in-

formation of those matters at the same time ; if it had been no more than to have congratulated with you upon the joyful part of the news, and at the same time condoled with you on the loss of a man who, as a General, or as a private person, is hardly to be replaced. I need not tell you I mean Mr. Wolf. I knew him but a little : but what I knew of him made me esteem, admire, and love him. If you were acquainted with him I am sure you will not differ in opinion with me.

LETTER CCCCLXXIX.

Lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell. The Union between the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt.

[*IBID.* vol. xxxv. fol. 21.]

Cavendish Square, 14 Jan. 1760.

* * * * *

If I were to give you an account of the past and present state of things here since I wrote last, I should compose a Volume. You have no time to read or I to write any thing so voluminous. These transactions will amuse us in conversation when we meet, but for the present it may suffice that I assure you of the union, cordiality, and good-will which reigns at present among the King's servants : it, fortunately for them, our master, and the public, is such, that there never was more

at any period of our time. I could not have said this three months ago, but I can safely assert it now, and I think there is every appearance that the same happy temper will continue. I verily believe that the Duke of N. and his brother did not more cordially wish each other to continue in their respective stations, than the Duke of N. and Mr. Pitt do now: and there are less disputes and coldness than there used to be between the two Brothers. This union, great and extraordinary as it may seem, is nothing in comparison with that of the Parliament and the Nation, which seems to have one mind and one object. What is most astonishing, the object in which this whole people is united is wise and good. Do not however imagine, my dear Mitchell, that this proceeds from any improvement made by our countrymen either in wisdom or in virtue, for it arises solely from this; no man who can raise any sort of disturbance finds it either convenient or agreeable to be out of humour at this time. As every Speech, Pamphlet, and Paper, are full of panegyrick on the present measures, the Nation believe it is all deserved, and think they were never so well served nor governed. Perhaps they never were, but this opinion does not arise from thence. They are ready to carry on the War, or to make a Peace according as the one or the other shall be recommended to them; and if the War continues they are for the first time persuaded it will be made in the best manner and in the best places.

These are happy conjunctures, my dear friend, and I hope and believe the proper use will be made of them.

* * * * *

I asked the Duke of Newcastle to-day, if I might give you the comfort of knowing that you were *well with him*, which you know is an expression of his Grace's. The Duke's answer was, "no man in England better, and so I desire you will tell him, with many excuses for not answering his Letters."

I am, my dear friend,
most faithfully and affectionately yours,

BARRINGTON.

LETTER CCCCLXXX.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holderness. The Court of France uses the pen of Voltaire to draw Secrets from the King of Prussia. The King of Prussia's character of Voltaire.

[IBID. vol. v. fol. 118 b. MR. MITCHELL'S OWN COPY.]

(Secret.)

Meissen, Thursday, 31st. July, 1760.

MY LORD,

A FEW days ago I received a Letter from Mr. Mackenzie, his Majesty's Envoy at Turin, enclosing one from Baron Edelsheim to the King of Prussia;

the Originals of both which Letters I here transmit to your Lordship.

So soon as the Baron's Letter could be decyphered I gave a copy to his Prussian Majesty, which he read over in my presence, and seemed a good deal provoked and piqued with the behaviour of the Duke de Choiseul, and not much pleased with the conduct of the Bailly de Froulay. The next day the King of Prussia sent me an answer to that Letter to be put into our French cypher, which accordingly has been done, and sent to Mr. Mackenzie under a merchant's cover. Your Lordship has a copy of it here enclosed.

* * * * *

Two days ago happening to dine with his Prussian Majesty alone, I threw out by way of conversation some reflections on the indignity with which Monsieur de Choiseul had treated Baron Edelsheim, charged with a Letter of Credence. The King of Prussia, after mentioning, with some warmth, the weakness and absurdity of the French Ministers, replied, that Baron Edelsheim had, properly speaking, no Letter of credence, but only a Letter from Minister to Minister in which even a blank was left for the inserting of his name in case there should be occasion, and he added that as to the seizure of the Baron's papers, which was the only reasonable motive for arresting of him, the French would be disappointed if they expected to make discoveries by them, for he had given the Baron

no written Instructions, and they would only find a particular cypher which was of no consequence.

I then took the liberty to observe that some late Letter his Prussian Majesty had written which had fallen into the French Minister's hands, seemed to have given great offence. His Prussian Majesty replied "I have wrote no Letter, but one to Voltaire." I ventured to say, "Perhaps your Majesty may have in that Letter made use of some strong expressions with regard to the Duke de Choiseul." He answered, "No. I think I made use of this proverbial phrase, that the Duke de Choiseul was possessed by ten millions of Austrian devils;" that, as to the rest, he had told Voltaire, he would keep to his alliance with England, and that if the French had a mind for Peace they must speak out plainly; and he said that this Letter to Voltaire was an Answer to one he had received from him, in which Voltaire had assured him that the French Ministers were perfectly well disposed towards a Peace.

I think proper to acquaint your Lordship minutely with every circumstance concerning this affair, which I wish may agree with the accounts received from other parts; but I cannot help adding that the King of Prussia's Correspondence with Voltaire has, on this, and former occasions, given me some uneasiness and suspicions; for I believe the Court of France make use of the artful pen of Voltaire to draw secrets from the King of Prussia, and when that Prince writes as a wit

and to a wit, he is capable of great indiscretions. But what surprises me still more is, that whenever Voltaire's name is mentioned, his Prussian Majesty never fails to give him the epithets he may deserve, which are the worst heart and greatest rascal now living; yet with all this he continues to correspond with him. Such, in this Prince, is the lust of praise from a great and elegant Writer, in which, however, he will at last be the dupe, for by what I hear from good authority of Voltaire's character, he may dissemble, but never can nor never will forgive the King of Prussia for what has passed between them.

I am, &c.

ANDREW MITCHELL.

LETTER CCCCLXXXI.

The Right Hon. William Pitt to Mr. Mitchell. Expresses his joy at the King of Prussia's Successes.

[IBID. vol. xxii. fol. 25. *Orig.*]

(*Private.*)

Sept. 9th. 1760.

DEAR SIR,

I CAN not let a Messenger go away without conveying some expressions at least of all my heart feels on the glorious and stupendous successes with which

Providence has at last crowned the heroic constancy of spirit and unexampled activity of mind of that truly great King you are so fortunate to contemplate nearly. Never was joy more sincere and universal than that which Mr. Coccei's arrival confirmed to us ; and amidst a whole Nation's joy, none can surpass, if any can equal mine.

May Heaven continue to prosper the arduous work, for much, very much yet remains to be done, and other wonders to be performed. May all prove propitious, and may success inspire sentiments of peace, to fix at last this long-fluctuating scene of blood and desolation, and to give stability and happiness to the fortunes of this unconquerable Monarch.

Mr. Coccei's appearance and manner fully answer to the advantageous portrait you make of him ; and I esteem myself happy in the acquisition of that gentleman's acquaintance.

Accept my best thanks for the volume of admirable poetry which you was so good to send me. I find there the happiest imitations of the Ancients : the delicacy of Horace, and the force of Juvenal.

I am, with great truth and consideration,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful friend

and most humble servant,

W. PITT.

LETTER CCCCLXXXII.

J. Wright, Under Secretary of State, to Sir Andrew Mitchell. The Reports upon King George the Second's Will.

[MITCHELL PAPERS. Orig.]

Whitehall, Nov. 7th. 1760.

* * * * *

THE King's Will is so variously reported that I do not presume to vouch any one of them. That of the most authority I have, is, that he left only £35,000 to be equally divided between the Duke, Princess Amelia, and the Landgravine of Hesse. A small parcel of Bank notes, about £6000, were found in his drawer, with a desire of them being sent to the Countess, which with two thousand guineas the King found loose were sent immediately, and I hear was all he left; that the great distresses in Germany since this War began had run away with all that he might otherwise have left.

LETTERS
OF
THE REIGN OF
KING GEORGE THE THIRD.

IN any Retrospect which future times may make, the Reign of **GEORGE the THIRD** will be found as instructive to the Philosopher as the Historian.

In duration it extended to the full limit of an ordinary life ; in greatness of events it had no parallel in the Ages which went immediately before it. It was marked by the loss of a vast empire upon the Western continent, and by the acquisition of sixty millions of subjects upon the Eastern side of the Globe ; by the dawn of restoration to the Arts ; by the most important discoveries in every science ; by the greatest naval, and the greatest military glory.* Nor must it be forgotten that George the Third released the Judges of the land from dependence upon himself.

The Reader, however, is not for a moment to suppose that the Letters here presented to him, form any thing like a perfect, or even a continued Picture of the Reign of George the Third. They regard a few Occurrences only in a long Period ; and relate mostly to the earlier Administrations of the King's Government. Some will nevertheless be found amongst them of no ordinary import. None are probably of higher interest than those which depict the conduct of the Sovereign himself amid trials. The integrity of his mind, his powers of persuasion, the kindness of his heart, his decision, and his magnanimity are every where apparent.

* The Regency began Feb. 3^d. 1811. King George the Third died Jan. 29th. 1820.

LETTER CCCCLXXXIII.

*General Yorke to Sir Andrew Mitchell. The opening
of the Reign of George the Third.*

[MITCHELL PAPERS, vol. xxxvii. fol. 151. *Orig.*]

Hague, January 8th. 1761.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE not wrote to you of late, because I really have not very well known what to say after the loss we sustained in October; and I was desirous to see a little first what was likely to happen, as well as to learn whether your arrival with H. P. M. at Leipsic might produce any thing to enlighten my understanding.

As we seem likely to continue sometime longer in the dark, I must break through my silence to wish you a happy New Year and many more agreeable ones than you have spent of late; Mr. Coccei the second furnishes me with the opportunity, and I won't let it escape.

I do not know whether you have correspondents who inform you exactly of our interior; if you have, all I have to say may be useless; if you have not, a few lines may not be unwelcome.

The young Monarch has ascended the Throne in the happiest æra of the British Nation, the first of his family

born in England, in the prime of life, with a good constitution, and with the good opinion of his subjects. He has many amiable and virtuous qualities, is rather timid, but since his accession I am told he represents well, and spoke his speech with great grace and dignity. He received all his Grandfather's servants with great goodness, and pressed them to continue in his service, which they consented to, though some of them, particularly the Duke of Newcastle, was inclined to retire; but all the Whigs in the Kingdom united to desire his continuance in employment, and he was promised the direction in the new Elections, with all the other influence he formerly enjoyed. Mr. Pitt has, however, the lead, and Lord Bute has a difficult game to play as a personal friend and favourite, with weight, of course, but no employment of business. This, you see, must occasion new scenes, which will be represented as people's passions and interests lead them. Hitherto things have gone on smoothly in appearance, and in Parliament unanimously, and the only thing which occasioned a fluster was the invitation and admission of some Tory Lords and Commoners into the Bedchamber; a measure which I should have no objection to, if concerted, but which without that may rather tend to divide than to unite. In what manner the New Parliament will be chosen we shall soon see. I hear the fashion at Court is to say, it shall be a Parliament of the people's own choosing, which, in these

times, may open the door to new cabals and difficulties, though the principle of it may be wise and honest.

Lord Hardwicke has been much caressed by the King and his Ministers, and continues to give his helping hand without place or pension. The Duke of Argyle and Lord Bute were reconciled in an hour, and have settled their matters to mutual satisfaction, which I and many others expected would be the case whenever a late event happened.

The Marriage was hotly talked of for some time, but that is now subsided. The Saxe Gotha match does not seem to have the *Vox Populi*, but His Majesty has not many ladies to choose out of, if he designs to marry.

As to the War, they would be glad to get out of it if they could, and His Majesty wishes personally for it. One difficulty is out of the way, which is Hanover, for at present the influence from that quarter is quite at an end, and though great goodness is expressed towards them, no partiality or any appearance of it.

We were in hopes because France was ruined that she would make some advance, but France seems to take pleasure in her ruin, and holds her tongue, and pretends she will make another campaign, and that she has found the money for it, though all the bankers here deny it. Had the expedition against Gottingen succeeded, I am inclined to think some overture would have been made; but I don't know what they will do at present, unless

to make another declaration as last year; perhaps with the same success. His Prussian Majesty must be supported if possible, and no one in the British Council has any idea of leaving him; but we are always afraid for him, and are not wise enough always to see how he can be assisted. In the meanwhile the Season is again approaching for the armies to take the field, and a resolution must be taken before that time. If the French stay in Hesse they will embarrass us greatly, and the wisest thing His Prussian Majesty can do for his own interest is to help to drive them away; he would not only encourage the British nation, but enable us to negotiate for him with great advantage. At Vienna they are not too flush of money, and the accounts I see from their army represent it as very much shattered and tattered, and that they shall have great difficulties in putting it in order again. The single article of new clothing them again is a very considerable object. Who is to command it is uncertain; some imagine Daun will not, and talk of the Archduke with Laudohn for director. I know nothing about the Russians, which is the most essential to be informed about; and as to the Swedes, I hope there is a good chance for their being out of the question for the next campaign, if things go on as they are represented to us.

This is the short Sketch of what I know; if any thing material happens which may assist or comfort you, I will let you know it. His Prussian Majesty

has a faithful ally in the King, and one who will not leave him in the lurch. Whether he sees any light himself to extricate himself, besides sheer fighting, is more than I am informed of; but to judge from what I do see, I should not imagine he has, which I am sorry for, for I am always for negotiating even in the midst of fighting. We are told that he has great success in completing his army, which is astonishing; but his Country must suffer, as all parts of it have been ravaged by turns, and his enemies are such as have no bowels at all.

Monsieur Coccei will tell you all the anecdotes of London better than I can. He seems, as well as his brother, much pleased with his reception, and much delighted with all that was said to him.

Lord Pembroke left the enclosed Letter with me to be forwarded under cover to you by the first opportunity. This with my best wishes for your health and happiness is all the trouble you shall have to-day from,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and faithful
humble servant,

J. Y.

My best compliments wait on
Mr. Burnet, and I beg to be kindly
remembered to my worthy friend
Marnitz.

LETTER CCCCLXXXIV.

Lord Barrington to Andrew Mitchell, Esq.

[MITCHELL PAPERS. vol. xxxv. fol. 27. *Orig.*]

Cavendish Square, 5th. Jan. 1761.

* * * * *

NOTHING can be more amiable, more virtuous, better disposed, than our present Master. He applies himself thoroughly to his affairs, he understands them to an astonishing degree. His faculties seem to me equal to his good intentions, and nothing can be more agreeable or satisfactory than doing business with him. A most uncommon attention, a quick and just conception, great mildness, great civility, which takes nothing from his dignity, caution and firmness, are conspicuous in the highest degree; and I really think none of them over or underdone. After so much panegyric on the Master, you will not expect any on his Ministers. You know them as well as I do, so I shall say nothing concerning them, but that if *three* of the number can agree, they may do every thing for themselves, their friends, and their Country. Whoever unnecessarily breaks this important triumvirate will deserve public execration, and perhaps may have it; for I think the Nation

for once desires quiet both at home and abroad. After telling you my wish, I will tell you my opinion: I think they will agree so as to carry on business together; and that is as much as can be expected. The distinction shown to our patron and friend the Duke of Newcastle has done him the highest honour. Never was a call to Government so universal: it was not to be resisted, even in the opinion of those who thought he should retire. He certainly was himself of that opinion, and intended retirement, how much soever he might have repented it afterwards.

Adieu, my dear Mitchell; preserve your good humour, recover your health, and be never a moment without the most confident belief that I am most sincerely and affectionately yours.

BARRINGTON.

P. S. I ask no questions about myself, but I am rather of opinion I shall continue Secretary at War.

LETTER CCCCLXXXV.

*Lord Barrington to Andrew Mitchell, Esq. The
Administration settled.*

[IBID. fol. 29. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 23^d. March, 1761.

MY DEAR MITCHELL,

SOME time since I acquainted you by desire of the Duke of Newcastle that you would soon be a Knight of the Bath: I wish he had not given me this Commission, as the Ribbons were disposed of yesterday, and you had not one of them.

I have expostulated with the Duke on this occasion. He protests it is not his fault, and that he has the most real value and regard for you; which indeed I believe is true. I hope this will be the last and the most mortifying disappointment of your life.

Our Administration is at last settled; I think well settled in the main, and my opinion is that it will last. Our friend Holderness is finely in harbour: he has £4000 a year for life, with the reversion of the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports after the Duke of Dorset, which he likes better than having the name of Pensioner. I never could myself understand the difference between a Pension and a Sinecure Place.

The same strange fortune which made me Secretary at War five years and a half ago, has made me Chancellor of the Exchequer. It may perhaps at last make me Pope. I think I am equally fit to be at the head of the Church, as of the Exchequer. My reason tells me it would have been more proper to have given me an employment of less consequence, when I was removed from the War Office; but no man knows what is good for him. My invariable rule therefore is, to ask nothing, to refuse nothing, to let others place me, and to do my best wherever I am placed.

I have the satisfaction to be perfectly well with my Royal Master, who really deserves all love and admiration, and with the three persons whose union can alone keep this Country great and happy. Perhaps I may contribute to the continuance of it, and it shall be my utmost endeavour to do so.

In all situations, my dear Mitchell, I am equally your friend and servant. Use me always as such, and believe me ever

most faithfully and affectionately yours,

BARRINGTON.

Andrew Mitchell, Esq.

LETTER CCCCLXXXVI.

Colonel Græme to Mr. Mitchell, upon Lord Harcourt's Journey to demand the hand of the Princess of Mechlenburg Strelitz.

[IBID. vol. li. fol. 1. *Orig.*]

Strelitz, 17th. July, 1761.

SIR,

THE 15th. instant I received a Letter from Lord Bute of the 7th. enclosing a Copy of the Declaration which His Majesty was to make to his Council next day the 8th., a Double of which I herewith send you for your information, in case you may not have had any account of it from England. His Lordship also informs me that Lord Harcourt was next day to be declared Master of Horse to the Queen, and named Ambassador from His Majesty to make the formal demand of the Princess, and conduct her to England. That his Lordship was to set out immediately, and supposed he would be at Strelitz by the end of this month at latest. This information his Lordship gave me with a view that I might have every thing in readiness for the Princess's journey, so as my Lord Harcourt should not be detained here above two or three days.

The route which the Princess takes from hence is through the Prignitz.

The Stages,	Mirow,
	Witstock,
	Pritzwalck,
	Perleberg,
	Lentsen,

at which last place the Princess crosses the Elbe, and enters on the Hanover territory. The Duke of Mecklenburgh conducts the Princess to the Elbe, and is to apply to the Regency of the Country to have horses in readiness; but as the circumstances of the times, the situation of the Country, with the approaching harvest, may occasion some difficulties in the supply of horses, for so large a Retinue as the Princess will have along with her, I thought proper to inform you of the above particulars, hoping to obtain through your interposition with the Ministers such directions to the Regency in that part of his Prussian Majesty's dominions, as may obviate all difficulties which might occur to retard the Princess's journey. I cannot exactly inform you at what place in the Prignitz the Princess will take a night's quarters, but I believe at Perleberg. The place is but middling, and cannot afford very commodious lodgings. I hope that the Magistrates will do their part, and see the Princess accommodated in the best manner that circumstances may admit of.

I regretted that I was not fortunate enough to have

the pleasure of paying my respects to you at Berlin, to which place I lately made a short trip to satisfy curiosity, but shall on all occasions be glad of any opportunity to testify that regard with which I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

DAV. GRÆME, *Coll.*

(Copy of His Majesty's Declaration.)

Having nothing so much at heart as to procure the welfare and happiness of my people, and to render the same stable and permanent to Posterity, I have, ever since my Accession to the Throne, turned my thoughts towards the choice of a Princess for my Consort, and I now with great satisfaction acquaint you that, after the fullest information and mature deliberation, I am come to a resolution to demand in marriage the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz, a Princess distinguished by every eminent virtue and amiable endowment; whose illustrious line has constantly shown the firmest zeal for the Protestant Religion, and a particular attachment to my Family. I have judged proper to communicate to you these My Intentions, in order that you may be fully apprized of a matter so highly important to me and to my Kingdoms, and which I persuade myself will be most acceptable to my loving Subjects.

LETTER CCCCLXXXVII.

Colonel Græme to Mr. Mitchell. Preparations for the Princess's Journey.

[MITCHELL PAPERS, IBID. fol. 5. *Orig.*]

Strelitz, 11th. Aug. 1761.

SIR,

IF I could with any certainty have given you intelligence of the arrival of Lord Harcourt at this place, and of the departure of the future Queen for England, I should not have failed taking an opportunity of noticing one and t'other to you, as well as to acknowledge the receipt of your obliging Letter of the 20th. July.

I yesterday had a Despatch from Lord Harcourt at Stade, where he landed on the 7th. He is to be here the 14th., and on Monday the 17th. the Princess sets out on her Journey to England. Lord Bute writes me that the Duchess of Ancaster, Mistress of the Robes, and the Duchess of Hamilton, Lady of the Bed-chamber, with Mr. Herbert, and Dashwood, come to attend the Princess to England.

These are the only particulars relative to this Journey worthy your notice.

In the Prussian County of Prignitz where the Princess is to pass, all Orders are given, and I have reason to think all dispositions made that may make the journey expeditious and agreeable to Her Serene Highness.

On Thursday I send a messenger to meet Lord Harcourt, when I shall send him the Letter you sent me for his Lordship by the last Estafette.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant

DAV. GRÆME.

LETTER CCCCLXXXVIII.

The Earl of Harcourt from the Court of Strelitz, to Mr. Mitchell at Magdeburg. Preparations for bringing the Princess, afterwards Queen Charlotte, to England.

[MITCHELL PAPERS. vol. lviii. fol. 33. Orig.]

Strelitz, Aug. 17th. 1761.

DEAR MITCHELL,

How unfortunate am I to lose the opportunity of meeting you at Perleberg! but still more concerned for the accident that has deprived me of that pleasure of introducing you to the most amiable young Princess I

ever saw. You may imagine what Reception I have met with at this Court coming upon such an errand as brought me here, where the great honour the King has done this Family is seen in its proper light.

I reached this place on the 14th. On the 15th. the Treaty was concluded, and dispatched away to England. *L’Affaire en verité n’etoit pas bien epineuse.*

This little Court has exerted its utmost abilities to make a figure suitable to the occasion, and I can assure you they have acquitted themselves not only with magnificence and splendour, but with a great deal of good taste and propriety.

Our Queen that is to be, has seen very little of the World, but her very good sense, vivacity, and cheerfulness, I dare say will recommend her to the King; and make her the darling of the British nation. She is no regular beauty, but she is of a very pretty size; has a charming complexion, very pretty eyes, and finely made. In short she is a very fine girl.

I can’t finish my Letter, dear Mitchell, without giving you the strongest assurances of my affection and good wishes for the recovery of your health, and that you may live to return to your Country, and receive rewards adequate to the important and dangerous services you have been employed in.^a

I must detain you a little longer to give you a short

^a Mr. Mitchell often rode by the side of the King of Prussia in his Battles. He was created K. B. in 1765. EDIT.

account of the very unexpected honour His Majesty has done me. I was in the country *à planter des choux*, when I received an order to attend the Privy Council in which His Majesty declared his intention to marry. Lord Bute, whom I honour, and to whom I am personally obliged, desired me to call upon him, and he declared to me His Majesty's gracious intention to send me upon this honourable commission, and to appoint me Her Majesty's Master of the Horse, which honours I expected as much as I did the Bishoprick of London just vacant.

There was no room to hesitate one moment whether I was to accept such a mark of distinction. I waited upon the King immediately, whose goodness to me was such as ought for ever to attach me to his service, if I had not already looked upon myself as one of the most zealous of his subjects. I happened to be one of the few, perhaps the only man of quality that did not solicit some favour of him upon his Accession to the Crown. He took notice of it, and was pleased with it. After what happened to me some years ago, it was beneath me to become a solicitor for favours and employment. If the King thought me worthy to be employed I knew I should receive some mark of favour; if not, I was sure no solicitation would signify.

I have troubled you with this Account because I am sure you will be pleased to see an old friend receive such marks of His Majesty's regard.

If I can be of any service to you at my return to England, you may for ever command

your most sincere, and affectionate friend,

HARCOURT.

I will take care that not only the Princess shall be convinced of your attention to her, but His Majesty also and Lord Bute shall be apprized of it.

Col. Graham^a desires his compliments. We set out this afternoon, but we shall not be at Stade till the 22^d. Excuse this hurry.

LETTER CCCCLXXXIX.

*Lord Barrington to Andrew Mitchell, Esq. Mr. Pitt's
Resignation of the Seals.*

[MITCHELL PAPERS, vol. xxxv. fol. 31. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 5^h. Oct. 1761.

DEAR SIR,

A VERY important and I think an unfortunate event has happened this day. Mr. Pitt has resigned the Seals. For some time past there has been a difference of opinion in the Cabinet as to the conduct proper to be held with Spain. Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple were

^a Græme.

of one opinion, which they gave in writing to the King. The other Lords, ten in number, among whom were the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, the Earls of Granville and Bute, Lords Mansfield, Ligonier, and Anson (I had forgot Lord Hardwicke) were of a contrary opinion, which they severally but unanimously delivered by word of mouth in the closet. Both parties adhering firmly to their way of thinking, Mr. Pitt has taken the part I have mentioned, which I fear will occasion great inconveniences both at home and abroad. However I do not see any disposition any where to change the system of the War; or to make peace on improper conditions. I do not indeed at present see any probability of the thing in this world I most ardently wish, an honourable conclusion of those distresses which have desolated some parts of the Globe and impoverished others. It was an expectation of this happy event that kept me so long silent. I desired to obtain my pardon for the seeming neglect of which I have been guilty, by sending you some very good news; but, alas! I see no hopes of a pacification, and my favourite scheme of union between the three great men of this Country is at an end. I must in justice say, it has not failed by the two Lords; and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that they are thoroughly and cordially united.

* * * * *

I continue, my dear Mitchell, advancing without

application to advance, or indeed desire; being convinced that I have long been placed too high. When the time comes for my retiring to the situation best adapted to my nature, I hope to fall easily: I promise you that your old friend will not fall in the dirt.

If the public good and the duty you owe to the best and most amiable master that ever lived since the days of Titus would permit you to leave the station you are now in, it would give me infinite satisfaction. Old friends fall off, and I find new ones are not so easily made as I thought they were when I was younger. This makes me anxious to get near to those who remain. Of these, one is gone to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant,^a and another (Lord Hillsborough) is going thither in order to settle a very good estate which Sir William Cooper has left him in that Country. Adieu, my dear friend, believe me to be ever

most affectionately yours,

BARRINGTON.

^a Lord Halifax.

LETTER CCCCXC.

Lord Barrington to Andrew Mitchell, Esq. Lady Hester Pitt created a Peeress. Mr. Pitt receives a Pension. Ministerial changes.

[MITCHELL PAPERS, IBID. fol. 33. *Orig.*]

Cavendish Square, 9th. Oct. 1761.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just time to acquaint you that Lady Hester Pitt is a Peeress, Mr. Pitt has a Grant of £3000 a year for his own life and two others; and that Lord Temple resigned the Privy Seal the very day that his brother-in-law got a pension and his sister a coronet. George Grenville has refused to be Secretary of State, and will have the conduct of the House of Commons, remaining Treasurer of the Navy. He is already a Cabinet Councillor, and will be at all the private meetings of the Ministers. However the Seals go in the family, for Lord Egremont has got them. I hope you received my Letter dated last Tuesday, and that you believe me to be, dear Mitchell,

Ever most faithfully yours,

BARRINGTON.

LETTER CCCCXCI.

Lord Barrington to Andrew Mitchell, Esq. New Administration under Lord Bute. The Duke of Newcastle's Audience from the King upon his Resignation.

[IBID. fol. 37. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 1st. June, 1762.

DEAR MITCHELL,

THE new arrangement of Administration took place last Friday and was not settled till that morning. I was not able to write by the post which went from hence Friday evening; but I intended to write fully by that which sets out to-night. However I can only at present send you a very short Letter, referring myself to a longer which I propose writing soon.

I need not tell you who compose the new Treasury under Lord Bute; or that my friend Sir Francis Dashwood is my successor. You were immediately apprized that Mr. Grenville is Secretary of State for the Northern Department; but perhaps you have not been told what passed at the last audience the Duke of Newcastle had of the King, when he resigned last Wednesday. His Majesty said he was sorry to lose him, and should always remember his services: that

he feared the Duke's private fortune had suffered by his zeal for the House of Hanover: that his Majesty was desirous to make any amends in his power in any way that should be most agreeable: and added that it was a debt due to his Grace. The Duke answered that in office he had never considered the profit of employment: that out of office he could not bear the thought of being a burthen and charge on the Crown: that if his private fortune had suffered by his loyalty, it was his pleasure, his glory, and his pride: and that he desired no reward but his Majesty's approbation.

None of the Duke of Newcastle's friends are out of employment, and he wished they might continue to serve the Crown, though he did not in any respect ask their continuance.

When I carried the Exchequer Seal to the King, he was pleased to say he should be sorry to take it out of my hands if he had not something immediately to offer which he hoped would be agreeable to me; and which he gave as a mark of approbation of my services. I kissed his hand that day as Treasurer of the Navy.

You will most undoubtedly lament with me that the Duke of Newcastle should retire from business at such a juncture; but if you knew the whole, you would not condemn the step he has taken, and taken with moderation, temper, and dignity. I can add no more than that I am, dear Sir,

Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

BARRINGTON.

LETTER CCCCXCII.

*Mr. Symmers to Andrew Mitchell, Esq. The Birth
of the Prince of Wales.*

[IBID. vol. xxxviii. fol. 280. Orig.]

London, 20 August, 1762.

As I presumed the notification of so great and joyful an event for Great Britain as that of the birth of a Prince of Wales would of course immediately be made to all our foreign Ministers, I have not till now taken occasion to wish you joy on the happy occasion. He is a charming little creature. Mrs. Symmer and I, along with some other company, had the honour and pleasure of seeing him to-day. Sure, if ever the birth of a Prince was ushered in with favourable omens, his is. He is born at a time when the Glory of the British Arms is at a higher pitch than ever it was known to be before. He had not been come into the world above an hour, when near a million of treasure taken from the enemy, passed in a procession of twenty loaded waggons before his windows. And before he was six days old, an account comes of one of the most important victories that has been obtained during the war, that of the Havannah.

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The 8th. of next month (the marriage day of the King and Queen) I hear is fixed for the christening of the young Prince; and that the King of Prussia, the States of Holland, and the Princess of Wales are to be Sponsors.

LETTER CCCXCIII.

The King of Prussia to Sir Andrew Mitchell, upon the taking of the Havannah.

[MITCHELL PAPERS, vol. xlii. art. 125. Orig.]

MONSIEUR,

Je partage sincerement la joye que vous devez ressentir à la nouvelle importante touchant la Conquête de la Havane, que les Armes de sa Majesté Britannique viennent de faire. Vous savez toute la part que je prens à ce qui peut regarder sa gloire et les interets de la Nation. Je vous sais gré d'ailleurs du compliment de felicitation que vous me faites sur la prise de Schweidnitz, ne doutant, que vû les sentimens que je vous connois envers moi, elle a deu vous interesser. Et sur ce Je prie Dieu, qu'il vous ait, Monsieur, en sa sainte et digne garde.

FREDERIC.

A Peterswaldaw,
ce 24^e Octobre, 1762.

À Mr. Mitchell.

LETTER CCCCXCIV.

Mr. Symmer to Sir Andrew Mitchell. The Preliminaries of the Peace of 1762 arrive ratified.

[MITCHELL PAPERS, vol. xxxviii. fol. 303. Orig.]

London, 26 Nov. 1762.

DEAR SIR,

I WRITE to inform you of an important piece of News, though I doubt not but you will receive it by a more authentic channel. This morning the Preliminary Articles of Peace arrived here, with the full Ratifications. What renders this of greater consequence, is, that at this critical juncture, when even a shadow has the weight of substance, there was a diffidence that hung over the minds of many, as if the Ratification of the Preliminaries might still have met with difficulties, especially at the Court of Madrid; and by that means the work of Peace have been left incomplete. But this is not all; by what I have heard, it seems, this is not the Ratification of Preliminaries simply as such, but indeed of the Treaty of Peace. If I be rightly informed, the Articles already signed and ratified are the very Treaty itself, and that accordingly there is to be no Congress, no further negotiations, and that the execution is of course to follow. To-day the guns of

the Tower and the Park have been fired, and to-morrow the Proclamation is to follow. How this will be relished at the Prussian Court, I wish I could say, I know not. Nevertheless, I am of opinion, that when England and France are cordially pacific, (and what both nations have suffered in their different ways ought to render them so) other nations in Europe will not keep the sword long unsheathed.

Yesterday I was carried to the House of Lords by Lord Hillsborough, who with some difficulty got me introduced, and planted me near the Throne. There I had the pleasure of hearing a very proper speech, delivered in a noble and pathetic manner by one of the most graceful Princes of this age. The dignity of the person, the solemnity of the scene formed about him, and the full House, could not but affect the mind of one, who you know is naturally addicted to what vulgar souls think borders on romance, with a peculiar pleasure. I was particularly entertained with the behaviour of the French Ambassador, who stood at the foot of the Throne, and who understands English. I had him in my eye during the whole speech; and could perceive he felt what was spoke. The Speech was followed by the Motion for the Address by Lord Egmont (who spoke like—the Master of the Post-office), and was seconded by Lord Weymouth, who spoke with grace and dignity, though with the timidity of a young man. It passed unanimously. After that an Address

was moved for by Lord Aylesford and seconded by Lord Hillsborough, to congratulate the Queen on the Birth of the Prince. What passed in the House of Commons was similar to this. Lord Carysford moved and Lord Ch. Spencer seconded. The House was unanimous: but Mr. Beckford, now Lord Mayor, had his vagaries as usual, and gave the House a little prelude of what they were to expect more at large when the masters mount the stage. Lord Temple was not in the House of Lords, and neither Mr. Pitt nor Mr. Fox in the House of Commons. The Opposition will open upon the Preliminaries laid before Parliament; and is like to be more formidable than was at first imagined. Several great personages have of late declared themselves in it. The D. of C. and the whole House of York (I mean the Hardwicke Family) but it is thought that all who will, are now declared, so that the first division in each of the Houses will show the powers of the parties. If the whole Opposition lay within doors, it would still be more tolerable, as it is not unconstitutional; but, alas! there is reason to apprehend it extends without doors. Such a mob was perhaps never seen in our time between Charing Cross and Westminster Hall. The King's magnificent new Coach might be supposed to have brought them together; but what kept them there after the Coach had gone back, is perhaps not so satisfactory to think of; in short, Lord B. was insulted both in going and

coming from the House; and towards evening some soldiers were sent to support the constables in the discharge of their duty in clearing of the streets, so as that the Members might get away.

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Most sincerely yours. Adieu.

LETTER CCCXCXCV.

Mr. Symmer to Sir Andrew Mitchell. The state of Parties. The Duke of Newcastle's sacrifice of Emolument. A Victory gained by Admiral Keppel.

[IBID. fol. 305. Orig.]

London, 31 Dec. 1762.

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IN a series of Letters down to the 26th. past, I gave you the best Accounts I could of the state of Parties here. It was a disagreeable task, for every thing looked gloomy about us. The clamour, and I may say mobbing, without doors, and an expectation raised very high of a strong opposition within doors, filled the minds of many with apprehensions of confusion and disorder. The day when the Preliminaries were to be taken into consideration, was the critical day assigned for the explosion of the bomb that had been so long in charging, and that had been represented as so formidable. But how astonished the Public was! when the explosion of this

bomb proved to be but the bursting of a bubble ; and that what had been the object of terror became the subject of derision. The Division in the House of Commons was 329 to 65, and the speaking in both Houses greatly superior on the side of the Administration. In the House of Lords there was no division. It is said the Duke of Newcastle sent a Message to his Party in the H. of C. not to divide ; but Mr. Dempster, a young member of N. Bⁿ. who had taken it into his head to be in the minority on this occasion, took it likewise into his head to bring the House to a Division, which exposed the nakedness of the Party. There were two other things that weakened the Opposition in the Lower House. Mr. Pitt, though he declared against the Terms the Administration had obtained of Peace, yet he refused to join in Opposition with the D. of N., and taking that day an opportunity of apologizing, in a solemn manner, as well for his past conduct as his present opinion, he made an effort, which (from the bad state of health he was in) he sunk under. He spoke upwards of three hours ; returned often, though weakly, upon the same ground ; lost himself sometimes ; lost the attention of the House, and left his friends dispirited by the appearance he had made. The other accident was, that Ch. Townshend, who a few days before had resigned, and who was expected to have broke out into strenuous opposition, made one of the best speeches he ever had made in his

life, in favour of the Peace. On the whole, so surprising an eclairsissement seems to have had a decisive influence on the present state of Affairs. The Public talk very differently of the Peace from what they did a month ago. No more mobbing now; no infamous prints are now hawked about; and if the halfpenny on the pot of beer be taken off (which is talked of) a certain person will even become popular, and may have mobs of his own. In short nothing could be more favourable for the establishment of this young administration than the unsuccessful attempt that has been made against them. This event not only puts an end to Opposition (at least any formidable one) for a long time, but even, in a manner, to News itself; for public business will of course fall into a regular train of affairs, which, barring unforeseen accidents, will produce nothing new.

At present we have nothing to talk of but changes, which fall heavy on the Newcastle party. All those of his Grace's friends whom he has drawn into opposition with him, some of whom are little able to make such a sacrifice, are or will be turned out. It moves one to compassion to think of the poor old Duke himself. A man once possessed of £25,000 per annum of landed estate, with £10,000 in emoluments of government, now reduced to an estate of scarcely £6,000 per annum, and going into retirement (not to say sinking into contempt) with not so much as a feather in his

cap, and but such a circle of friends as he has deprived of their Places. The three Lieutenancies he had, the last things he continued to hold, have this week been taken from him. That of Middlesex has been given to Lord North, which will greatly increase his Lordship's power and interest in this county.

* * * * *

I am afraid I have tired you. But I must give you a piece of good news by way of a *bonne bouche*. Accounts came yesterday that Admiral Keppel had made a capture of a French Fleet of eighteen St. Domingo rich Ships and five Frigates; the Prize is valued at between two and three hundred thousand pounds. Adieu, my dear Mitchell.

LETTER CCCCXCVI.

Lord Barrington to Andrew Mitchell, Esq. Still on the State of Parties in the Debate upon the Peace.

[IBID. vol. xxxv. fol. 41. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 13th. Dec. 1762.

DEAR SIR,

It is a considerable time since I wrote to you, for excepting the Peace (which you had an earlier account

of than I could send you) nothing has happened that I could write or you read without concern.

I was in hopes till Thursday last that some fortunate though unexpected accident might have prevented those divisions which threatened to destroy the unanimity we have enjoyed so long. The die is now cast. The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Hardwicke spoke against the Preliminaries in the House of Lords, where however there was no division. In the House of Commons 319 Members voted Thanks to the King for the Peace he has concluded; 65 only voted against those Thanks. I look on the Opposition as now declared. Whoever dislikes this Peace cannot possibly approve any other measure of this Administration. The head of this Party is the Duke of Cumberland: the Duke of Newcastle is supposed to be thoroughly connected with His Royal Highness, and also the Duke of Devonshire. Lord Hardwicke is supposed to join them no farther than he has thought himself obliged to do, from his long friendship with the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Royston, his eldest son, voted in the House of Commons for the Address approving the Preliminaries; the Attorney General in his speech commended them on the whole, though he expressed a wish that some of the articles had been otherwise. Neither he nor his youngest brother, who is in the Board of Trade, stayed the division. Mr. Pitt came to the House on crutches, out of his bed, to which he had been confined for some

weeks: he spoke three hours and twenty-five minutes standing and sitting: he never made so long or so bad a speech, blaming the Preliminaries in general, though he commended that part of them which relates to the Cession made by France on the Continent of North America. He was very moderate in his expressions, not at all abusive, declared he had no connexions with others supposed to be opponents, and intimated that he should attend Parliament very little this Session.

Your friendship for me will allow my adding a word about myself. You know my attachment for the Duke of Newcastle and for him only; and you can therefore conceive how distressful it has been to me, that I should take a different part from him in public affairs. I very early and very explicitly told him, that I thought support of Government a duty, while an honest man could support it: that I approved and even admired the Peace which the Administration had concluded: and that I had long agreed with his Grace in thinking it was of the most dangerous and mischievous consequence to continue the War: that I could not, in short, contradict the dictates of my own reason, and the whole of what I had said and done for the last eighteen years of my life. He continues to treat me with great familiarity and friendship, and I have great reason to hope he does think I act from principle; knowing well there never was a time when even he could prevail on me to do what I thought wrong. In all matters which per-

sonally concern his Grace or his Administration, I am as entirely his as ever, and must always remain so; of which I have made the most explicit declarations in every place where it ought to be known. Adieu, my dear friend; I will add no more than that I am

ever most affectionately yours,

BARRINGTON.

LETTER CCCCXCVII.

Lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell. The subject of the Peace continued.

[IBID. fol. 43. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 18th. Jan. 1763.

* * * * *

THE Peace is less disliked in the City than it was; I believe it is well relished in the Country, where nothing is made by war, and the inhabitants are sufferers by the taxes it occasions. Of this I am certain, that the opposition to the Preliminaries from those who when in Administration had invariably asserted a necessity for Peace, is approved no where.

You ask me what is the object and intention of our old friend. They were to force out the Administration and to force himself in, with full power. This

having failed, I think he is at a loss how to act. Wisdom and Virtue prescribe retirement and quiet, though too late, and with a bad grace. But, as you well observe, "the best and most moderate, when formed into Party, may be carried lengths they never intended to go." I therefore stopped at the threshold, and I have that satisfaction upon reflection which you so kindly foretell. I should indeed be perfectly happy in my present situation, if I did not continually lament that of my benefactor and friend, who can never more enjoy happiness or quiet; a circumstance which does not give the less concern because it is of his own making. All those who followed his Ideas in either House of Parliament are removed from their employments; and also others, very near and dear to him; nor is there any appearance that they will ever be re-instated or recompensed. The Parliament meets next Thursday. If any thing material happens you shall know it from me.

* * * * *

Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

BARRINGTON.

It is not known who will be President of the Council. Lord Granville has left £8000 to his youngest unmarried daughter, and the rest of his fortune to his son, whom he never would see. He died vastly in debt.

LETTER CCCCXCVIII.

*Frederick the Great of Prussia to Sir Andrew Mitchell,
upon his receiving a Copy of the Treaty of Peace
of 1763.*

[MITCHELL PAPERS. vol. xli. fol. 129. Orig.]

MONSIEUR MITCHELL,

JE connois tout le prix de la diligence que le Roi
vôtre Maitre vous a ordonné de faire, pour Me remettre
une Copie en son Nom, du Traité définitif de Paix
que Sa Majesté vient de conclure. Vous l'assurerez,
Je vous en prie, de la parfaite reconnaissance que Je lui
en ai, et de la joye que Je partage avec lui, sur un
ouvrage si digne de lui et si salutaire à toute l'Europe.
Je vous sais gré d'ailleurs de l'empressement que vous
avez eû à satisfaire ces ordres. Je suis persuadé de la
sincerité des sentiments que vous me temoignez à l'oc-
casion de ma Paix conclue avec les Cours de Vienne
et de Dresde. Le Compliment que vous m'en faites,
m'a été ainsi très agreable, et vous pouvez compter de
votre part, sur l'affectueuse estime que Je vous con-
serverai toujours. Sur ce Je prie Dieu, qu'il vous ait,
Monsieur Mitchell, en sa sainte et digne garde.

FREDERIC.

à Dahlen, ce 9é de Mars, 1763.

à Mr. Mitchell, à Berlin.

LETTER CCCCXCIX.

Lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell. Lord Bute's retirement from Office. He details the Changes of the Administration which were to take place the next day.

[IBID. vol. xxxv. fol. 45. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 11th April, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

LORD BUTE resigned last Friday. He will have no office ; and declares he will not be Minister behind the curtain, but give up business entirely. The reasons he gives for this step are, that he finds that the dislike taken to him has lessened the popularity which the King had and ought to have ; that he hopes his retirement will make things quiet, and His Majesty's Government easy. To this public reason, Lord Bute adds, that his health absolutely requires exercise and calmness of mind. He says that he unwillingly undertook the business of a Minister, on the King's absolute promise that he might retire when the Peace should be made. I am of opinion that he had a clear and fully sufficient support in both Houses of Parliament, and therefore I deem his resignation voluntary. People are infinitely surprized at it ; for my part, it is when a man accepts the Ministry, not when he quits it, that

my wonder is excited. Mr. Grenville is to be first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He, with the two Ministers of State, are to be the ministry. Mr. Fox will continue Paymaster and be a Peer. Charles Townshend will be at the head of the Admiralty, and Lord Shelburne of the Board of Trade. The Duke of Bedford President; Lord Gower Privy Seal; Sir Francis Dashwood called to the House of Lords as Baron Dispenser (in abeyance since Lord Westmoreland's death) and is also to be Master of the Wardrobe; Oswald will be a Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, in the room of Lord Sandwich, who goes to Spain; Hunter, and a Mr. Harris, whom you do not know, will be Lords of the Treasury; and Lord Digby a Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Northumberland goes Lieutenant to Ireland; and Lord Hereford Ambassador to France. It is expected that all or most of these changes will happen to-morrow; but in this Country nothing is certain.

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I am, dear sir,

Most affectionately yours,

BARRINGTON.

LETTER D.

*Lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell; upon the further
Changes of Administration.*

[IBID. fol. 47. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 19th April, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

MY Letter of last week was in general prophetic, but not in every part. The Duke of Bedford has declared he will not keep the Privy Seal, or have any office. It is said the Duke of Rutland will be Privy Seal, and Lord Gower Chamberlain.

Charles Townshend accepted the Admiralty last Thursday, and went to kiss the King's hand the next day; but he brought Peter Burrell with him to Court, and insisted he likewise should be one of the Board. Being told that Lords Howe and Digby were to fill up the vacant Seats at the Admiralty, he declined accepting the office destined for him, and the next day received a dimission from the King's service. Lord Sandwich is actually first Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Granby Master of the Ordnance, and General Townshend Lieutenant-General in his Lordship's room. Lord

Ligonier has a pension and is created an English Baron. I am, my dear friend,

Ever most faithfully yours,

BARRINGTON.

LETTER DI.

Lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell. The Affair of "a worthless man named Wilks."

[IBID. fol. 49. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 13 May, 1763.

MY DEAR M.

* * * * *

NOTHING is at present talk'd of here but the Affair of a very impudent worthless man named Wilks, a Member of Parliament, who was lately taken up by the Secretaries of State for writing a most seditious Libel personally attacking the King. This was done by the advice of the Attorney and Solicitor General, who were of opinion he was not in such a case entitled to privilege. However, the Court of Common Pleas have otherwise determined, and he is set at liberty. The Secretaries of State have filed an information against him in the King's Bench. The mob are as usual for the Libeller, who is a kind of Sacheverell;

but I think I never knew all persons above the degree of mob more united than at present in lamenting the insolence with which Government is attacked.

Most affectionately yours,

BARRINGTON.

P. S. I am sorry and ashamed to say, that Lord ***** has on this and all similar occasions united himself to Mr. Wilks and the mob.

LETTER DII.

Lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell. The Death of Lord Egremont.

[IBID. fol. 51. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 22^d Aug. 1763.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YESTERDAY Lord Egremont was seized with a stroke of apoplexy and died in the Evening. I suppose nobody knows who is to be Secretary of State. I have not the least guess. Adieu, my dear Mitchell. I am, in great haste but greater truth,

Ever most affec. yours,

BARRINGTON.

LETTER DIII.

Lord Barrington to Sir Andrew Mitchell. Mr. Pitt's unreasonable terms. His failure in negociation for Office.

[IBID. fol. 53. *Orig.*]

Cavendish Square, 30th Aug. 1763.

DEAR SIR,

LAST Saturday Mr. Pitt attended the King by order at Buckingham House, and stayed there above three hours. He return'd thither Yesterday, but all treaty is at an end, the King deeming Mr. Pitt's demands unreasonable, though he was ready to have gone a great way to make every thing easy.

A Secretary of State in the room of Lord Egremont will soon be named, who, together with Lord Halifax and Mr. Grenville will form the Ministry. When I know more you shall hear again from, My dear friend,

Yours most affectionately,

BARRINGTON.

LETTER DIV.

Mr. Erskine to Andrew Mitchell, Esq. Details explanatory of the preceding Letter.

[MITCHELL PAPERS, vol. lxi. fol. 237. Orig.]

*** Indorsed by Sir Andrew Mitchell, "Mr. Erskine, r. at Berlin."

Sept 27th. 1763.

DEAR SIR,

IT is now a considerable time since I have had it in my power to send you any Accounts that would afford me the least pleasure in writing or you in reading. The late important transaction has produced such a change on the face of our Domestic Affairs that all who sincerely wish well to their King and Country flatter themselves with the hopes that a Calm will succeed to the Storm which hung over us, and threatened every moment to burst on our heads; and that the convulsive rage of inflamed parties will subside into a decent contest for Power, and a constitutional opposition.

Unanimity, in time of Peace, is not to be expected—perhaps, not to be wished. You will doubtless have received from your other Correspondents much better information of the particular incidents which led to and accompanied the grand Event than I can possibly

give you: but, as I am happily detached from all Parties, though I have a great personal regard for many Individuals on both sides the Question, you will probably not be displeased with comparing such particulars as I have been able to pick up, with the more authentic Accounts you have received from others.

The Convention between L. B. and M. P. was long carrying on with the utmost secrecy under the mediation of L. S——e, a young nobleman who is said to be possessed of great abilities, to have studied the system of ministerial craft with great assiduity under that able master M. F. and to unite to no small share of presumption the most unbounded ambition. The Ministry, suspicious of some such Transaction, jealous of the influence L. B. still retained over ——, and alarmed at the spirit of discontent which the Opposition had so artfully and assiduously spread through the whole Nation, were in the mean time busily employed in forming a private plan for their own support, by which they hoped to regain the confidence of the People, and give weight and consistency to their Administration. Threats of a general Resignation were the arms to be employed for carrying their plan into execution. L. E——t's death disconcerted all their measures, and hastened the conclusion of the treaty between L. B. and M. P. At M. P.'s first interview with —— he behaved with great modesty and decorum; but when he insinuated that —— would doubtless be pleased that L. B. and he

should unite their Councils for his service, —— stopped him short. “How! M. P. do you mean to laugh at me? You must know, as well as me, that that nobleman is determined never more to take any share in the Administration.” M. P. was, however, on the whole, so moderate in his demands, and —— so condescending that there seemed little reason to doubt of an happy issue to the Conference. Towards the close of it, —— said “that as a Coalition was now happily to take place, he hoped it would be general and diffusive, that all past rancour, malice, and ill-will would be buried in oblivion, as nothing could give him such real pleasure as to see his People united and happy; that he especially wished to see L. T——e reconciled to his brother, whose good heart he was thoroughly convinced of, and whose affection for his Lordship all their differences had not been able to stagger.” To this M. P. made no reply. The next day L. T. and M. P. were at Court; they bowed very low; —— spoke to them without constraint; but, as I thought, with apparent coolness. They, however, thought themselves so sure of success that they summoned their friends to Town. . But, at the next Conference (from what motive I have not been able to learn) the scene was entirely changed, the style of a Dictator was assumed; terms were no longer proposed but prescribed; and conditions exacted that nothing but the most abject meanness or most absolute despondency could

assent to; a total Bouleversement of the Government was demanded; an universal proscription of all who had served it boldly threatened, with some few invidious exceptions; and *sic volo, sic jubeo*, denounced a total annihilation of Regal Authority. "The whole frame of your Government is disorder'd and will require seven Years at least to restore it to the state it was in eighteen months ago; your army is in the utmost confusion, and must no longer be governed by a Secretary at War totally ignorant of all military affairs; there must be a man of experience put at the head of it, a man of character, rank, and dignity, to give weight to his command."—"I agree with you, M.P., and by the picture you have drawn you doubtless mean L. G—y" (this disconcerted him a little and he replied) "Or—or—or L. A—e." "All those who voted for the Peace must be turned out, and all the Tories to a man: the D. M. indeed is young and has not yet been tainted, and L. H—x may be trusted; but the D. B. must have no share in Administration, I will have nothing to do with him or with any Tory whatever."—"Tories, M. P.? I protest I do not understand you; if you mean by Tories such, and such, and such, you will please to recollect you brought every one of them in yourself." Thus, unassisted, did —— debate the important point of his own Sovereignty with that able and (unfortunately) violent Negotiator; and having, during the whole Conference, preserved the utmost command of

his temper, concluded it with those remarkable words, "Should I consent to these demands of yours, M. P., there would be nothing more left for me to do, but to take the Crown from my own Head and place it upon yours; and then patiently submit my Neck to the Block."

The Ministers were not a little alarmed at M. P.'s admission into the Cabinet without their concurrence, and it was whispered that they intended to avoid the disgrace of being turned out by an immediate Resignation. L. S. did resign, but assigned a plausible reason for it, and declared his adherence to the Ministry.

— called the Ministers together, acquainted them with what had passed between him and Mr. P., and, in a spirited Speech, let them know that he expected they would labour assiduously in discharge of the duties of their respective Departments, so that no blame might be thrown upon his Government; that he should always be willing to take their advice in Council, and hoped, with their assistance, he should be able to govern in a manner wholly unexceptionable and for the good of his People; but that he was determined, for the future, never to be guided by the councils of any Individual; and that he would suffer any extremities, and even retire to Hanover rather than suffer himself to be enslaved by the ambition of any of his Subjects.

In consequence of all this the Ministers gave out that they would apply diligently to their respective business, and give themselves no concern about the

future efforts of the Opposition. The exorbitant demands of the Great Man were generally condemned, the spirit of — universally applauded; even the City begins to change their style, and the three Lords taken in have the approbation of the Public.

The Meeting of Parliament is as much wished for as it was before dreaded, through an anxiety lest any disagreement among the Ministers, or any fresh plans of Opposition, should disturb the present tranquillity of the Nation.

This is now the exterior appearance of public affairs: what still lurks behind the Curtain, or whether the sparks of discontented ambition will again burst into a flame, Time must discover.

LETTER DV.

Lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell. The King's Message on the subject of Wilks. Mr. Pitt's Speech upon the Address in consequence. The Duke of Newcastle.

[IBID. vol. xxxv. fol. 55. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 17th. Nov. 1763.

DEAR SIR,

LAST Tuesday the Parliament met, and the House of Commons, before the King's Speech was reported

from the Chair, took into consideration a Message from his Majesty on the subject of Mr. Wilks, stating the impediments thrown in the way of his Trial by the decision of Westminster Hall on the head of privilege. After long debate on various points it was determined that the North Briton, No. 45, was an infamous seditious libel, &c. It was also resolved to proceed farther on the Message next day, when the point of Privilege should be discussed, and inquiry made whether Mr. Wilks was the author of that Paper, with intention, on proof thereof, to expel him ; but just as the House was going to proceed Yesterday on this business, news came that he had been shot through the body in a duel, by Sam Martin, late Secretary to the Treasury. Martin had said in a speech the day before (after mentioning some virulent abuse thrown on him in a former North Briton) "that whoever was capable in a printed anonymous Paper to asperse him by name, was a cowardly scoundrel." Wilks, the next morning, wrote a Letter to Martin acknowledging himself the Author of that Paper, and they proceeded to Hyde Park where the duel was fought. The wound is not thought dangerous ; but it occasioned the putting off the consideration of the Message, and we went on the Speech. The Address was moved by Lord Carnarvon and seconded by Lord Frederick Campbell. Mr. Pitt spoke with great ability and the utmost degree of temper. He said he had not altered his opinion of the Peace, which

he still thought inadequate to our situation and successes; but that being made and approved by Parliament, nothing more unfortunate could happen than that it should be broken. That it was every man's business to contribute all he could to make it lasting, and to improve it; for which purpose he recommended Union and Abolition of party Distinctions as absolutely necessary. He spoke civilly, and not unfavourably of the Ministers; but of the King he said every thing which duty and affection could inspire. The effect of this was a Vote for the Address, *nemine contra dicente*. I think if £50,000 had been given for that Speech, it would have been well expended. It secures us a quiet Session; and with the help of a division of 300 to 111 the day before, will give strength and reputation to Government both at home and abroad. I delayed writing to you till I could send you somewhat worth your reading, which I could not do till Parliament met: I now send you this good news with infinite satisfaction.

I must return for a moment to Wilks, that you may know more of Mr. Pitt's present temper, for which I cannot account. He speaks as ill of him and his writings as any body; he approved the Resolution against his Paper No. 45. except one word; but he is very warm on the affair of Privilege, which he insists to have been rightly determined by the Court of Common Pleas, and violated by the Secretaries of State.

He abused the opinion given by the Crown Lawyers, and treated both Attorney and Solicitor General very roughly, though the former has resigned, and was supposed to be politically connected with him. I know not what to make of this in all respects most extraordinary Man.

I went to see the Duke of Newcastle the day after he came to London, and he received me very kindly. At parting I said, I should frequently pay my duty to his Grace if I thought it would be agreeable to him: in answer to which he desired I would. He looks very well and hearty. I know nothing of his Politics, for he did not say a word on those subjects, though I stayed with him alone above a quarter of an hour. He was greatly concerned for Lord Hardwicke, who is in a declining and dangerous way.

* * * *

Adieu, my dear Sir, and pardon the length of this Letter.

B.

LETTER DVI.

*Lord Barrington to Andrew Mitchell, Esq. General
News.*

[IBID. fol. 59. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 12th. Jan. 1764.

* * * *

I do not expect opposition from Mr. Pitt when the Parliament meets; and all other opposition is *brutum*

fulmen. Wilks will be demolished, whether he comes home or stays abroad; and I think Government will recover vigour and dignity, both which it has greatly wanted in respect to its foreign and domestic concerns. Lord Hardwicke has surprisingly recovered, and I hope will live. Our old friend the D. of Newcastle is very well at Claremont. I see him pretty often, but we never have talked about Politics since we differed so entirely about them. I pity him most sincerely, but know not how he can now mend his situation. What a Situation he has lost! He might have been the support of the Crown and the arbiter between Government and Faction. Adieu, my dear Mitchell, believe me ever

Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

BARRINGTON.

The reports of changes in Court and quarrels among Ministers are groundless. The present time is peculiarly given to lying.

LETTER DVII.

Lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell. Wilks and the North Briton, No. 45.

[IBID. fol. 63. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 26 Feb. 1764.

DEAR SIR,

You have probably heard of some near Divisions in

the House of Commons lately, but perhaps you are not informed exactly of the points which occasioned those divisions. The following Account will not be unacceptable to you if you have not received a better.

Wilks was taken up by Lord Halifax on a general warrant to seize the printer, publisher, or author of the North Briton, No. 45; together with their papers. Of this he complained the first day of the Session, as a violation of his privilege; but the hearing of that complaint was postponed to the consideration of the King's Message concerning him. After his Expulsion, the complaint was taken up, not in his name, but as regarding the Privileges of the House, by Sir William Meredith and Sir George Saville.

On inquiry it was found that nothing had been done by Lord Halifax, or others concern'd, but what was warranted by the constant usage of office from the earliest times, particularly when Lord Townshend, the Duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Pitt were Secretaries of State; and therefore the House unanimously agreed there was no ground of censure or blame on the present occasion: but the Opposition proposed a motion declaring such General Warrants to be illegal, as in truth I believe them to be. The Ministers would not consent to this declaration of Law by one House of Parliament, though they did not assert the legality of the Warrants. They said Westminster Hall were the best interpreters of Law, or else an *Act of Parliament*; and

therefore proposed to adjourn the consideration of the matter for four months, which was carried at seven in the morning by 232 against 218.

There were in the course of this proceeding several long days and near divisions, many persons extremely well disposed to Government and in employment voting in what they called a constitutional point, with the Opposition. I think they will most or all of them come back to their friends; and if this point, greatly laboured by active opponents, does not raise more flame without doors than there is an appearance of at present, I hope it will not do Government any real or lasting mischief. As to Change of Administration, I dare say it will produce none; though I am persuaded your namesake here has written different accounts to his Court.^a

Wilks has been convicted on the Indictments against him for writing the North Briton, N^o. 45, and the Essay on Woman; so I think it impossible he can ever come hither. He and his Cause are already forgotten by the only friends he had, the Mob; and we shall not soon have any similar writings.

* * * * *

Ever most faithfully yours,

BARRINGTON.

^a The Prussian Minister Michel.

LETTER DVIII.

Lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell. Michel, the Prussian Minister in England, recalled.

[IBID. fol. 65. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, 17th May, 1764.

* * * * *

MICHEL is recalled. This event very unexpected, and I believe disagreeable to him, he did not know till last Tuesday. I find our Court has desired the Court of Berlin to change their Minister here: indeed Michel has stayed in England so long, that he is grown as intriguing and as factious as any man in the Country, which is saying a good deal.

Worontzow was recalled by his Mistress without any application from hence; it appearing by his own despatches, that he was not fit to remain here. He will grow older and wiser, and it is a pity he suffered himself to be seduced by Michel.

* * * * *

Mr. Grenville has obtain'd a great deal of credit, and deservedly, in the House of Commons; and that credit helps him much every where. Lord Halifax's Garter is well timed; and my Lord Chancellor is made an Earl purely to shew favour to such as firmly sup-

port Government. Adieu, my dear Mitchell. Believe me ever

most affectionately yours,

BARRINGTON.

P. S. Mr. Pitt has parted with his house in town, does not in the least talk like an opposer, and seems to be retired *tout de bon*.

LETTER DIX.

Mr. Stuart Mackenzie to Sir Andrew Mitchell: upon his removal from the Privy Seal of Scotland.

[MITCHELL PAPERS. *Orig.*]

* * The Right Hon. Stuart Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the brother of Lord Bute, had been Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Turin in the latter part of the Reign of King George the Second. He was constituted Lord Privy Seal of Scotland in the room of the Duke of Athol, April 16th. 1763. Dutens has given an elegant character of Mr. Mackenzie in his Memoirs. Mr. Mackenzie died, at the age of 82, April 6th. 1800.

Hills Street, 4th June, 1765.

THE King having many reasons to be displeased with some of his Ministers, resolved to make certain Changes. He accordingly directed the Duke of Cumberland^a (who was the only person in this Kingdom from his rank and peculiar circumstances who could talk to the several heads of the subdivisions of the

^a William Augustus Duke of Cumberland, third son of George II., died Nov. 8th. 1765.

Opposition) to sound several persons in order to the formation of a different Government from that which he had about him. His Royal Highness obeyed his Majesty's orders in the best manner possible. He met with Pitt and Temple, who after much conversation he found would not come into office. He then turned to the Duke of Newcastle and his friends, who either through timidity of Pitt not coming in, or from other motives, declined acceptance. So that after many endeavours, and turning things into every shape possible, the Duke advised his Majesty, as his only resource left, to send for the present people again, and to take them in. This advice was seconded by two men no less attached to the King, nor no less bold in Council than the Duke himself; I mean the Lord Chancellor and Lord Egmont. His Majesty offended in the highest degree with the Insolence offered him by his present Ministers would have put any mortal in their place that could have carried on business, if the three Great Persons abovementioned could have suggested to him any plan for that purpose. And they undoubtedly would have done it if they could, as there is no animal on the face of the earth that the Duke has a more thorough contempt for or a greater aversion to than Grenville. However, as no other remedy could be found, his Majesty sent for those people again. They on their part demanded certain terms without which they declined coming in; the principal of which

was, that I should be dismissed from the Administration of the Affairs in Scotland, and (on a further explanation) likewise from the office of Privy Seal. His Majesty answered, that as to the first, it would be no great punishment, he believed, to me, as I had never been very fond of the Employment; but that as to the second, I had his promise to continue in it for life. Grenville replied to this purpose: "In that case, Sir, we must decline coming in." "No," says the King, "I won't on that account put the whole Kingdom in confusion, and leave it without any Government at all; but I'll tell you how that matter stands; that he has my royal word to continue in the office: and if you force me, from the situation of things, to violate my royal word, remember you are responsible for it and not I." Upon that very solemn charge, Grenville answered, "Sir, we must make some arrangement for Mr. M." The King replied, "If I know any thing of him, he will give himself very little trouble about your arrangements for him." His Majesty afterwards sent for me to his Closet, where I was a very considerable time with him, and if it were possible for me to love my excellent Prince now better than I ever did before, I should certainly do it; for I have every reason that can induce a generous or a grateful mind to feel his goodness to me; but such was his Majesty's situation at that time, that had he absolutely rejected my Dismission, he would have put me in the

most disagreeable situation in the world: and what was of much higher consequence, he would have greatly distressed his affairs. I can add no more at present, but must beg of you to communicate what I have said on this subject to Lord Milton, Lord Stonefield, and my other friends.

LETTER DX.

The Rev. William Cole to Mr. Alban Butler, President of the English College at St. Omers. The State of Society in France. Rousseau in England.

[MS. COLE, vol. xxv. fol. 17 b.]

* * * This Letter, and the Answer it received, are here inserted to show at how early a day the springing of the Seed was noticed which afterwards produced the French Revolution. The effects of the New Philosophy, and fear of the ruin it portended, determined Mr. Cole, as far back as 1766, to retract the intention he had formed of settling in France.*

* In the same Volume with this Letter Mr. Cole has recorded the following Anecdote of the person to whom it was written.

“ There happened an odd affair relating to the author of this Book, the rev. Mr. Alban Butler, a secular priest of Douay, and chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Norfolk. I was told it at the time when it happened, by his and my friend the rev. Charles Bedingfeild, Recollet and Friar of the Franciscan Convent of Douay, of the Suffolk family of that name.

“ This gentleman Mr. Alban Butler, going upon a mission to Norwich, had directed his Portmanteau by the carrier to be left at the Palace for him in that City: It seems the Duke of Norfolk's house there is called the Palace. As he was utterly unknown at Norwich, and as there was a Doctor Butler at that time as a visitor with bishop Hayter, the portmanteau was carried, by mistake, to the Bishop's Palace, and was opened by Dr. Butler; who finding therein a hair-shirt, disciplines, indulgences, missals, &c. the mistake was soon found out, and as soon communicated to the Bishop, who began to make a stir about it: but by the mediation of the Duke of Norfolk the Affair was hushed up, and Mr. Butler had his portmanteau restored to him.”

Blecheley, near Fenny Stratford,
Bucks, Jan. 26, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

I AM afraid you begin to think that you entertained a very unthankful guest, and that your hospitality was thrown away upon a person who makes so ill a return for it: but I hope to justify myself fully to your candour, when you have heard my reasons for not acknowledging your great civility to me at St. Omers, both in lodging me so comfortably, and entertaining me so hospitably under your roof.

* * * * *

I told you, when at your house, that one chief reason of my Journey into France was, to look out, on that side of the water, for a quiet, pleasant, and comfortable retreat, where I might, with my own private fortune, be enabled to live pretty near as fully and plentifully, when I quitted my preferment which is near equal to my estate, as with it in England; where we are so burthened with taxes of every sort, and every thing at so excessive a price, that the greatest economy will hardly allow a man of a private fortune to live within compass, if he will do as his neighbours. This I conceived might have been practicable in France, where taxes are not so numerous, and where provisions are much cheaper.

However, before I left Paris, I began to be sick of my design, for two or three reasons: I found every thing almost, both there and on the road through

Amiens to Calais, near as dear as in England ; I found it would not be easy to find any society with the natives, who do not love us, and indeed have no reason to do so ; but the thing which disgusted me most, was the looseness of their principles in point of Religion.

I travelled to Paris through Lille and Cambray in their public voitures, and was greatly scandalized and amazed at the open and unreserved disrespect both of the trading and military people for their Clergy and religious establishment.

When I got to Paris it was much worse. I had an opportunity by a friend's being at Paris, with whom I spent most of my afternoons, and where was a great resort of French company of the best sort, as he was a man of fashion and literature, to be further convinced of the great prevalency of Deism in that Kingdom ; when, if they go on at the rate they have done for these last few years, it is much to be feared, that any mode of Christianity, much more the best, will fare but ill with so loose a people. I was shocked at this barefaced infidelity, as well as my friend ; who is so far from being a bigot to any form of Christianity, that we rather looked upon him in England as indifferent to all : ^a so that it was with the greatest pleasure I often

^a This friend was the Hon. Horace Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, with whom Mr. Cole was upon terms of the closest friendship. There was a still earlier period in Lord Orford's life, when he was even *enthusiastic* in the cause of RELIGION. Cole, in his manuscript Preparations for an "Athenæ Cantabrigienses" in an Account of Henry Coventry, Esq. Fellow of Magdalen College Cambridge, says, Mr. Coventry was "a man of good estate, part of it in the Isle of Ely. I used to be much " with him at Dr. Middleton's and Mr. Horace Walpole's. When he first came to

heard him engaged very warmly in defence of our common Christianity, against these philosophers, as the French Deists affect to call themselves; and, upon this principle, that it was time enough to think of pulling down the present established Form of Worship, when they could agree among themselves to establish a better.

The French nobility, ladies as well as men, military gentry, and even tradesmen, are infected with this new Philosophy. God alone knows where it will end: but I fear the worst.

I ever thought we were bad in England; but I never heard so much public infidelity any where as while I was in France; where, however, to its honour be it spoken, they have spewed out Rousseau; while England, according to custom, has licked up the vomit. I hope you will pardon the indelicacy of the expression: but resentment to see the folly, blindness, and ill-judgment of my Countrymen, who are now a madding in caressing a man whom all good Government, Christian or Heathen, ought to detest, forced me to make use of it.

All our News-papers for this last fortnight have had regularly two or three articles relating to this great Mr. Rousseau and his settling in England. If the Emperor had paid us a visit, more noise could not have been

" the University he was of a religious enthusiastic turn of mind; as was Mr. H. W.
 " also, even so much as to go with Ashton, his then great friend and now Fellow of
 " Eton, TO PRAY WITH THE PRISONERS *in the CASTLE*; afterwards both Mr. Coventry and Mr. Walpole took to the infidel side of the Question. Mr. Coventry
 " was author of ' Philemon to Hydaspes.' "

made about it : and we seem to think we have made a great acquisition in a man, who was it not already in part done to his hands, has it in his heart to unloose all ties both civil and ecclesiastic.

But I will have done with this argument, and will only add, that it gave me the most hearty concern to think what was likely to become of the flourishing Gallican Church, if a stop, a providential stop, be not put to this present Phrenzy.

I must own I still long after a retreat somewhere about you, or in Normandy, if a proper place could be found. I lament I had so short a time with you, as I am fearful I shall have no opportunity of talking this and other matters over with you in England : however, if you should have a call here, I should be infinitely happy to see you at this place, which I might the sooner hope for, as you told me the neighbouring County of Northampton was your native one. I shall be glad of every opportunity to approve myself, reverend Sir,

Your much obliged
and faithful servant,

WILLIAM COLE.

* Here follow some Notes in correction of, and addition to Mr. Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints.

LETTER DXI.

Mr. Alban Butler to the Rev. William Cole, from St. Omers, in answer.

[IBID. fol. 25 b.]

HONOURED AND REVEREND SIR,

WORDS cannot express how much I think myself indebted to you for your most obliging and valuable Letter, dated Jan. 26th. particularly for your most learned Remarks on Bishop Fisher, and just corrections of Errata in the Biography, most indeed of the Press. My *Batavia Sacra* is dated in 1754: perhaps only the Title Page is new.

* * * * *

The frightful Portraiture of the monstrous growth of Libertinism and Irreligion alarms and disturbs me beyond expression: a good deal indeed I knew to be true. Such scandals put virtue to the test; yet they only overthrow the weak. Those who are better grounded, are awaked into greater watchfulness, fear, and fervor at the sight, as we daily see. Nay, these New Philosophers, as they call themselves, carry publicly the antidote against the infection of their own Poison; first, by the glaring absurdity and inconsistency of their rash errors; and secondly, by the licentiousness of their morals, their shocking pride, and ridiculous boasting and assurance.

Those who cultivate virtue are upright and unbiassed; the light of reason in them is pure, their judgment sound, their principles clear, rational, consistent in every part, supported by the strongest evidence. One such ought to have more weight than a thousand whose hearts are led astray, and whose passions put out their eyes by the mist they raise.

I cannot wonder that Dean Swift should say, The opinion of Sir Thomas More alone would have more sway with him, in many cases, than that of a whole assembly of interested time-servers. Such men God always raises up by his Grace; men hidden in God to the world, united to him by perfect purity of heart, and eminently endowed with a true spirit of humility, meekness, charity, and all other virtues; true terrestrial Angels. What a comfort is it to meet and converse with any such servants of God! The inundations of vice make Infidelity rife: but the Christian Revelation is in itself no less true, no less heroic, no less essential. We must strive with the greater earnestness to secure our lot with the small number, as the torrent of the wicked threatens to bear us down with the greater violence.

The necessities and conveniences of life are grown much dearer in France than formerly; but not in the same proportion as in England; where, I much fear, in a few years, one half of the people will become beggars, and be maintained by the other half.

I have every where found amongst the French a sufficient number of friends, both obliging and very cordial and agreeable. Should you ever be inclined to try these Parts (and the neighbourhood of England I have always found to have many agreeable circumstances) it would make me completely happy, if in my power to contribute in any thing to make your situation agreeable. The most advantageous way of employing money here is now in the Life Rents upon the King, which yield Ten per Cent: or on the Clergy for ever, Five per Cent.

I am sorry you should think our poor entertainment to have deserved to be remembered. I shall always think myself much obliged to your goodness in accepting our humble lodging; and shall more so, if you ever find it convenient to favour us with your company a longer time, and as frequently as it shall suit your convenience. In every thing in my poor power I shall be very happy to obey your orders, execute any commissions, or give any proof of the most sincere respect and esteem with which I am,

Hon^d. rev^d. Sir,

Your most obliged and devoted
humble servant,

A. BUTLER.

LETTER DXII.

Lord Barrington to Sir Andrew Mitchell. A fresh Change in Administration. Mr. Stuart Mackenzie has the Privy Seal again.

[MITCHELL PAPERS, vol. XXXV. fol. 71.]

Cavendish Square, July the 31st. 1766.

I HAVE sent you no account, my dear friend, of what has been doing here for above a fortnight, because nothing was determined till yesterday, when a number of persons kissed the King's hand for various appointments. I send you an accurate List of them inclosed, and you shall hear from me any further changes which may take place. Mr. Steuart Mackenzie is to have his Privy Seal again. The Paymaster's Office is to be divided into two employments, but I know not for whom. I do not hear who is destined to succeed Lord Dartmouth. I earnestly wish the Board of Trade may be restored to Lord Hillsborough, who will certainly execute it better than any other man living, and who wants employment to divert melancholy thoughts which too often recur.

* * * * *

I must now give you a short history of the Change which has just happened. Sunday the 6th of this month the King told Lord Rockingham that the Chan-

cellor had just been giving his opinion (and reasons upon which it was founded) why the Administration should no longer be left in its weak state. His Majesty repeated what had past in this conversation, adding his own arguments on the subject, and concluded with saying, that it was his duty to strengthen his Government. He accordingly sent for Mr. Pitt, by whose advice, as is supposed, the King also sent for Lord Temple, and offered him the Treasury, but his Lordship after some conversation with Mr. Pitt (said to have been very warm) went back to Stow. I believe Lord Rockingham has been offered any Court office, but he will have none. Lord Winchilsea told the King he had taken nothing from him, but what on account of health he must soon have given up. It is said Mr. Yorke will resign his employment of Attorney General; but excepting that, I hear of no intended resignations, or indeed material alterations.

* * * *

LETTER DXIII.

General Conway to Sir Andrew Mitchell. His Majesty's Proposition to form a System in the North which may counterbalance the Family Compact.

[MITCHELL PAPERS, UT SUPR. Orig.]

* * For an Account of the Alliance between the branches of the House of Bourbon, known by the name of the Family Compact, the

reader may consult the Annual Register, vol. iv. p. 51. v. p. 3. It was considered at its time, as an event of the most extensive, lasting, and alarming influence.

St. James's, August 8th. 1766.

SIR,

I HAVE it in command from his Majesty to inform you, that his Majesty being convinced that nothing can tend so effectually to secure the continuation of the present General Tranquillity, as the forming such a firm and solid System in the North, as may prove a counterbalance to the great and formidable Alliance framed by the House of Bourbon on the basis of her Family Compact; and considering a Connexion of Great Britain with the two great Crowns of Russia and Prussia, as the natural foundation of such a system, has been pleased to appoint Mr. Stanley his Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Petersburg, who will be instructed to act in conjunction with you, and in order to that, will have his Majesty's commands to pass through Berlin; there to confer fully and freely with you, on the most effectual means of bringing this great and salutary Plan to the desired conclusion: and that he may be enabled to do it more effectually, will have Credentials to his Prussian Majesty; so as, in concurrence with You, to settle the proper measures to be pursued in the progress of this affair: in which the intimate knowledge you possess of the State of that Court where you reside, and of the dispositions and

views of his Prussian Majesty, will be of the most essential service. But as You are thoroughly acquainted with the coldness that has lately reigned between the Courts of London and Berlin, and have been witness to the extreme backwardness his Prussian Majesty has shewn towards any ideas of a more intimate connexion with this Court, you will not wonder that his Majesty, previous to the sending Mr. Stanley over, and to beginning any actual Negotiation, is desirous to know, whether this most friendly step taken by his Majesty is viewed with pleasure by the King of Prussia.

After opening therefore in the most confidential manner the Plan proposed by his Majesty, and thereby giving his Prussian Majesty the strongest proof of his Majesty's inclination to act on terms of the most cordial union, you will, as soon as may be, for his Majesty's information, report to me in what manner these overtures have been received; and will accompany the same with such intelligence or observations, as appear to you material for throwing the fullest lights on this interesting and important business, and as may be a direction for the further prosecuting it with effect.

To you, Sir, who are so entirely master of all that relates to this subject, it will be little necessary to add any more. You are, in general at least, informed of the Obstructions which the Treaty of Alliance with Russia, so long since proposed, has met with; and if by means of this mode of Negotiation, and in this new

form, that object can be attained, You, Sir, who will be a chief instrument in promoting it, will deserve and undoubtedly obtain the highest approbation and applause.

I am, Sir,

with great truth and esteem,
your most humble and obedient servant,

H. S. CONWAY.

LETTER DXIV.

The Earl of Chatham to Sir Andrew Mitchell; on the proposed Confederacy of the North.

[IBID. vol. xxii. fol. 39. Orig.]

(Secret.)

London, Aug. 6th. 1766.

DEAR SIR,

MR. CONWAY'S office Letter will have informed you of the advice the King's servants have most humbly submitted to his Majesty. These few lines (writ by the King's order, and which his Majesty sees) will apprise you more effectually than volumes, of his Majesty's royal purpose to establish a firm and solid System for the maintenance of the publick Tranquillity. In this great view the King has been graciously pleased, by my most humble advice, to appoint Mr. Stanley, your friend and mine (whose abilities for this most

important work point him out with distinction,) his Ambassador to the Court of Russia.

The object of his mission is so clearly and with such precision (as to the outline) marked in the Minute of the Cabinet transmitted to you by Mr. Conway, that I do not trouble you with the repetition of it. I will only observe, my dear Sir, to a discernment like yours, that the intended journey of the King's Ambassador to Russia *by way of Berlin* with a Credential to the King of Prussia, in order to open, in concert and conjunction with You, the whole Plan to his Prussian Majesty, *before any opening of it be made to the Court of Petersburgh*, is a step of such decision and confidence on the part of his Majesty, as can not fail to make deep impressions on the mind of that clear sighted Monarch the King of Prussia, if he be in the least inclined towards this great work. The King, on his part, *assuredly* wishes it, but his Majesty wishes it, like a Great King of Great Britain, *salvâ Majestate*. If his Prussian Majesty meets, on his part, the King's favourable dispositions, I see before us a happy prospect of durable tranquillity; and this momentous affair, like most great things, would immediately proceed with little *formality* and abundance of *substance* and real *mutual confidence*.

More words upon this important matter are totally useless: I will only add that you are to make such use of this Letter with his Prussian Majesty, as you

shall judge most conducive to the great object of it. Your own perfect knowledge of that Court, your Zeal, Ability, and Address, are the best instructions. My heart is in this arduous business, so highly for the King's dignity and repose; and yours, I know, will go with ardour along with it. The conjunction of the King's Ambassador as he passes, I am persuaded, will cause no uneasy sensation in a mind composed like Yours.

I am ever, with unalterable esteem and warm affection,

My dear Sir,

Your most faithful friend and obedient
humble servant,

CHATHAM.

“RESOLVED, That his Majesty be advised to take the proper measures for forming a Triple defensive Alliance for the maintenance of the public Tranquillity, in which the Crown of Great Britain, the Empress of Russia, and the King of Prussia, to be the original contracting Parties, with provision for inviting to accede thereto, the Crowns of Denmark, and Sweden, and the States General, together with such of the German, or other Powers, as the Original Contracting Parties shall agree upon, and as are not engaged in the Family Compact of the House of Bourbon.

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of his Majesty's Servants, that Mr. Secretary Conway do take his Majesty's pleasure on a Letter to be immediately writ to Sir Andrew Mitchell, to acquaint him with the above Plan, and to inform him at the same time, it is the King's intention, that Mr. Stanley, appointed his Majesty's Ambassador to the Court of Russia, shall go by way of Berlin, with a proper Credential to his Prussian Majesty; then, in concert and conjunction with Sir A. Mitchell, more fully to open this measure; and will set out for that purpose, as soon as Sir A. Mitchell shall have transmitted hither an Account, that his Prussian Majesty will view with pleasure this very confidential step on the part of His Majesty.”

LETTER DXV.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Earl of Chatham. He details the substance of a Conference with the King of Prussia.

[IBID. vol. vii. fol. 60 b. SIR A. MITCHELL'S OWN COPY.]

(*Private.*)

Berlin, 17th. September, 1766.

MY LORD,

MY Letter to Mr. Conway of this date will inform your Lordship of what passed in the Conference I had with the King of Prussia at Potzdam, and of the manner in which I have executed the important commission with which I was charged.

As I found the King of Prussia averse to enter into new and stricter connexions with England, as well on account of the usage he met with towards the end of the late war, as of the unsettled and fluctuating state our Government has been in since the conclusion of the Peace, I made a proper use of your Lordship's *Secret Letter* of the 8th. of August, and urged his Prussian Majesty upon this point, that now by your Lordship's taking a share in Government the cause of his distrust was taken away, and therefore his diffidence ought to cease. He answered, I fear my friend has hurt himself by accepting of a Peerage at this time.

I replied that though I did not know your motives, I was persuaded you could give a good reason for what you had done; that I was not at all alarmed by the clamour and abuse thrown out against you on that account, as it was the effect of the arts and malice of your enemies, on purpose to discredit you with the People, who were easily misled by first impression and misrepresentations, but were as easily brought back again to their senses by right actions and a steady conduct; that I was persuaded this would be the case with your Lordship; and to confirm what I said I mentioned to him what I had been a witness to, when by your Speech in Parliament you saved the American Colonies, and was abused most scurrilously as a traitor to your Country for so doing; that in a very short space of time, the People saw they had been deceived, acknowledged their error and expressed their esteem, gratitude, and attachment to you in a stronger manner than ever they had done before; that this I hoped would be the case now, which brought to my mind what I had observed in the Field when certain great Officers never appeared in their full lustre but by recovering what was deemed desperate.

His Prussian Majesty smiling, said, I understand your allusion, and hope it will be so.

I have, &c.

ANDREW MITCHELL.

LETTER DXVI.

General Conway to Sir Andrew Mitchell; upon the coldness with which the King of Prussia received the Proposal for a Northern Confederation.

[MITCHELL PAPERS, UT SUPR. Orig.]

St. James's, Sept. 30th. 1766.

SIR,

MY last contained a mere acknowledgment of your Despatch of the 17th. instant by Lauzun; it was not then in my power to say more. Since that, your Letter has been considered by most of the servants his Majesty honours with his confidence, and I have now his Majesty's orders to inform you of the satisfaction his Majesty has expressed in the care and attention with which you have conducted yourself in opening to his Prussian Majesty this delicate and important matter.

His Majesty could not but regret the time lost by the King of Prussia's absence, but as you, from so long an experience, must be thoroughly acquainted with that Monarch's temper, he does not doubt, the part you took in not writing, or following him into Silesia, was upon proper judgment of the ill effect it might have had in the outset of this Negotiation, and the event certainly shews, that his Prussian Majesty's temper

and disposition towards the reception of this Overture, were such as could not well bear being soured by any adventitious or accidental circumstances of displeasure.

Notwithstanding many things his Majesty had heard of the King of Prussia's manner of expressing himself of late, in regard to connexions with this Country, his Majesty could not but receive with much surprize your account of the great coldness with which he received the advance made to him ; and, whether his language is sincere or affected, it seems fit he should understand the value of the Alliance which his Majesty from predilection offers, must not be so beat down and treated as if England had particular selfish views alone to serve, and was asking a boon, instead of proffering a most honourable and advantageous System of Union for the public good ; for the mutual security and advantage of the Powers proposed to be parties in it, and for none more evidently than for his Prussian Majesty himself ; the jealousy and power of whose neighbours, and the weak state of whose internal affairs, from the disorder of his trade and finances, seem to call loudly for the prop of so firm and powerful an Alliance as that now voluntarily proposed to him.

He says the times are not proper. What, while the Family Compact of the House of Bourbon exists, strengthened by their union with the House of Austria? The most formidable combination ever yet formed, and the most dangerous to the liberties of Europe !

He says *there are Matters of Discussion between us and France, likely, one time or other, to be the occasion of a New War, in which the natural Interests of Prussia might not lead her to take part.* His Majesty ought to be told, that a matter of discussion called SILESIA, is the object in Europe most likely to kindle a New War, if not timely prevented by prudent and proper measures.

These things must be put in their true light: and this change, attempted to be given at the outset of this negotiation, must be very effectually and very explicitly set right. His Majesty's dignity demands it, and the success of the negotiation, upon a proper foot, depends upon it.

He asks what Stipulation? None till we know he is disposed to treat upon an equal foot, on the general ground of mutual defence, and the support of the general Peace and Tranquillity. Free from subsidies in time of peace, and from such engagements as the honour and interest of this nation must refuse, particularly the Turkish clause, endeavoured to be imposed upon us by Russia, and never before attempted to be introduced in the various Treaties of defensive Alliance made by Great Britain, either with Russia or with the House of Austria.

If his Prussian Majesty is cordial, if he is disposed to this great Union, we meet him more than half way. If he expects to be entreated, he should know it is not

for his Majesty's honour to go farther than the step already taken.

A continuance of hesitation will be looked on as a refusal, and his Prussian Majesty will probably repent, ere long, having lost the fairest and noblest opportunity that could offer to build his own Honour and Security on the same firm basis with the general Peace and Liberty of Europe.

I am, with great truth and regard,

Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

H. S. CONWAY.

P. S. You will use the contents of this Letter at your discretion, according to the situation of things at Berlin when it comes.

To Sir Andrew Mitchell.

LETTER DXVII.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Earl of Chatham. Relates a private Conversation with the King of Prussia.

[IBID. vol. vii. fol. 78.]

(*Private.*)

Berlin, 6th. Dec. 1766.

MY LORD,

As in my Letter to Mr. Secretary Conway, by this messenger, I have given an ample account of what

passed in the audience I had of the King of Prussia at Potzdam on the 1st. instant, I am now to give your Lordship, in confidence, a Relation of a Conversation I then had with that Monarch as a private man, and not in the character of a Minister.

After the Audience was ended, I took the liberty of observing to the King of Prussia that I remarked with regret, in the course of the conversation, that he had not spoke to me with the same freedom and openness he was wont to do on former occasions, and that I suspected he had only given the specious not the real reasons for his disinclination to the Treaty proposed.

He answered with good humour, that my conjecture was not absolutely without some foundation, and that he would own to me as a private man, that it was not easy for him to forget the ill-usage and injustice he had met with from our Nation at the time of making the last Peace, and he then enumerated particulars. I replied, that it was not candid to impute to the Nation the faults of private Men who were then unhappily Ministers; that there was now a fixed and settled Administration, whose way of thinking and acting was very different from that of their Predecessors; that whilst your Lordship was at the head of it, he could reasonably have no sort of diffidence; that the Triple Alliance proposed was a favourite measure of your Lordship's, which you had much at heart, for preserving the public tranquillity, and for uniting the

interests of the King with those of his Prussian Majesty.

The King of Prussia answered, I have a very high opinion of Lord Chatham, and great confidence in him ; but what assurances can you give me that he has power, and will continue in Office ? I replied, I had not the least doubt of either, as your Lordship was now the darling of the King and People. His Prussian Majesty said, that does not agree with my accounts from England. I assured him of the truth of what I had advanced, and that I believed the contrary reports had been raised by your Lordship's enemies. He said he wished it might be so, but till he saw more stability in our Administration he did not choose farther connexions ; and he concluded by adding, I have spoke to you with freedom as a private Man, and expect upon your honour, that you will not make a bad use of it ; which I am sure of not doing in communicating this to your Lordship only, and desiring at the same time the most perfect secrecy.

I own the King of Prussia's conduct amazes me. I had hopes a little reflection would have shewn him his real interest, but vanity and caprice are often too strong for reason ; and to these motives I ascribe the Answer he has given to the King's salutary Proposal, for I do not even suspect his having Views to an Alliance in another Quarter. If he is cool to our Nation, He has the French in abhorrence and contempt, of which he

makes no secret. His Plan seems to be (if he has any) to stand unconnected upon his own Bottom, which experience might have taught him is far from being a safe one.

Notwithstanding all that has passed, I think it probable that if our Treaty with Russia be once settled, the King of Prussia must for his own safety either desire to be admitted into it, or throw himself into the arms of those who do not seem desirous of receiving him; but, my Lord, this leads me too far, and your Lordship can best judge whether the laying this high-minded Prince under such a necessity be a proper measure at this Juncture.

I have, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

LETTER DXVIII.

Mr. Wroughton to Mr. Mitchell from Poland. A Mistake about a Cypher.

[IBID. vol. xxix. fol. 221. Orig.]

Warsaw, the 24th Dec. 1766.

SIR,

I AM honoured with your Letter of the 13th inst. but am sorry to tell you that what is contained in the Cypher is as great a secret to me as to every other

person here; your Secretary having made use of a Cypher, of which the Key is not in my possession. I have only those marked H. and I. 1757, and beg for the future that you will not write me in any other.

We have as yet no News from Petersburg, though waiting for it with the utmost anxiety.

I heartily wish you the Compliments of the Season, and have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble servant,

THOMAS WROUGHTON.

A son Excellence Monsr. le Chev.
de Mitchel, Envoye Extra. et Min.
Plen^{re}. de S. M. B. à la Cour de
Berlin.

LETTER DXIX.

General Conway to Sir Andrew Mitchell. The King receives a Letter by the Post from an English Sailor. His Majesty's Orders upon it.

[IBID. vol. xx. fol. 186. Orig.]

St. James's, August 7th. 1767.

SIR,

HIS Majesty has received a Letter by the Post from one James Richardson, an English Sailor, who, above

a twelve month ago, was, partly by force, partly by terror, inlisted in the Prussian Service.

As the King's disposition inclines him to lend an ear to the Complaints of the meanest of his Subjects, he perused this Letter with attention; and finding in it a remarkable air of truth and sincerity, he directed me to transmit it to you, that you may make inquiry concerning its grounds and foundation. If the poor man's Narrative be found conformable to fact, and if he be inlisted otherwise than from his free choice, it is His Majesty's pleasure that you make application in his behalf to the King of Prussia, and recover him his liberty.

With regard to the other Correspondence with which you have favoured me, I am directed to express to you His Majesty's satisfaction in your Intelligence. Every thing is in a profound tranquillity between the two Courts, and indeed over all Europe, except in Poland, where I hope, as well as you do, that affairs will soon come to a composure. This happy situation is the cause that my Despatches to you are so rare, and contain so little matter of importance.

I am with great truth and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

H. S. CONWAY.

Sir Andrew Mitchell.

LETTER DXX.

James Richardson, an English Sailor, forcibly detained in the King of Prussia's service, to his Majesty King George III^d.

[IBID. fol. 223. Orig.]

SIR,

THE inscrted comes with my dutyfull service to your honered and moast Soveren Mayjesty, hoping that your Mayjesty will pardon my bouldness and exkcapt of those few lines. i am perswaded with gentlemen of qualyty to make my unfortnet fate known and on what condittion acame into this Land. iam a seaman bred and born in Whitewell near York Cetty in Yorkshire. James Richardson is my name: born of powr parrents: served eight years duttyfully to John Besswick of Scareborough in the coasting and marhent service: but not withstanding, my supperyours always gave me agood carrackter. But now my unfortenate fate was to be trapand in this land, and to give the truth to your Mayjisty how and in what maner icame into the King of Prowsia's dyminions isaild from London to Memell in one Squiress Mallings ships of Scareborough; ihath been fife years in his sons and his shiping; and on May the 20th 1766, in the after-

noon, iwent on shore with fowr men more to tacke awalk and vue the fashons of the country, and being warm weather we went in to a publick house to get adraft of brandy and warter, and the landlord askt me to tack awalk in to acountry town about fowr Inglisth miles from Memell, and not thinking anny ill that the man would do tome iwent with him and his wife: my commarades seming verry easey about with me thay stayd behind: and at nine of klok ihired a farmer and his waggon bein the fashon to ride in litle waggons, to bring me and the landlord back: came three men and asked me to let them ride, they towd me that thay lived in Memmell, but when by Memmell gates iwanted to get out and discharge the waggon; but they bounded me fast hand and feet with lines, and carryed me to Cenesbourg^a to the revow, and sold me for fifty doalloars to Captain Rabinnights companny in Generall Lalla-bourn reggiment on foot. Ihath written to his Majestiy King of Prows in Berlien 4 letters, and to my Parrents, but cannot get one out of the Country, for the head Gennarralls in this part of the country hath given strict orders to the posts not to let anny pass but what must com into thare hands, so that aman may write untill he is gray headed before he can get one seafe. The Generall hath written me down to go under the life gard: but the Captain towld him that iwass and inglisth man. I dont think he will send me away, for if iget

^a Koningsburg.

once to Berlien ishall get my dishcharge, for the King he will not allow anny man to serve him without he coms with agood will. I was fowr dayes in the camps before they could get meto swear. They threatned me with imprisonment for term of life, and to live on bread and warter, and not understaning the laws of this Land idid swear to stand good for no longer then ican getaway. Blessed be God i am not yoused ill, for when thare own contrymen they flog, brouse, and beat with a stick, they give me a good word; but when iam alone ifreat and cry to that condishon that ilay seick for ten weeks to geather to think that iam stole away from my native land in such amaner, and no hope of geting clear at all. A verry honorowble ould gentleman, a marchant from England hath tould me that it would be the only way for to send your Mayjesty those few lines, being aman born of powr parrants, and hath towld me that when your Highness pleases to send sum of your subjects to Berlien on your own account, to write tow or three lines to his present Mayjesty on my behalf it will be of agreat service ingeting my discharge; and for the good your Mayjesty will do for me iam willing to obbay and serve your Mayjesty ather by land or sea, so long as breth remain; as i hope and pray to my macker for your Hieness to forgive and pardon me if i hath written anny thing amiss, for ihath partly forgotten my mothers tounge, and to indight my letters in adeascente maner. This Letter imust smugle awayin toan inglishmans hands that none

of the offiscears catsh me with this letter. iam 28 years
of agge and 5 foot aleaven in hight. and so no more at
present, but remain in prays to the Allmighty for your
Mayjestys long rean, and in peace with all men

JAMES RICHARDSON.

From the revow in camps
in Cenesbourg May the 31th. 1767.

loallenbourn is the gennarralls name, in Captains
Rabynights companny on foot, ovr winters quarters is
in Anglebourg 15 duchmiles from Cenesbourg.

For his Present Mayjesty
King George y^e third
London.^a

Indorsed, "in Mr. Conway's Letter to Sir Andrew Mitchell of the
7th. Aug. 1767."

Upon a separate Sheet is,

The Sailor's Certificate of his discharge.

"This is to sertify that I James Richardson hath
got my discharge from lallenboun ridgiment on foot,
and hath got one dallar to bear my expences on my
way, and a pass, and macke the best of my way to owld
ingland.

Rasllinbourg September 18th.
1767."

^a The Post-mark of the Letter is "HULL," from which place It appears to have
been forwarded by the friend into whose hands the sailor professed his intention of
smuggling it.

LETTER DXXI.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to Lord Rochford. The King of Prussia still insensible to the advantages of the proposed Confederacy.

[IBID. vol. vii. fol. 200 b.]

(Secret.)

Berlin, Saturday the 11th February, 1769.

MY LORD,

IN answer to your Lordship's Letter of the 27th. of January I have the satisfaction to acquaint You that the conduct I have hitherto held at this Court, will be found to be exactly agreeable to His Majesty's sentiments signified to me in your Letter.

Since the year 1766, when, by his Majesty's command, I made an Offer to the King of Prussia, of entering into an Alliance with Great Britain and Russia, which that Monarch was pleased to receive not only with coldness and indifference, but even to decline it absolutely, I have never, directly nor indirectly, dropt the least hint of His Majesty's desiring any stricter Connexion with this Court, and have avoided, in the Conversations I have had with the Prussian Ministers; the showing any curiosity to be informed of the King their Master's transactions at the Court of Petersburg or elsewhere, convinced in my

own mind that His Prussian Majesty would, sooner or later, repent of having refused the generous Offer His Majesty had made him.

How far the King of Prussia may wish success to an Alliance between Great Britain and Russia, I have no opportunity of knowing, but cannot help doubting as to his sincerity in that point.

The Language His Prussian Majesty directs his Ministers to hold at different Courts, may possibly be contradictory, as it depends chiefly upon the representations, whether well or ill-founded, made by those Ministers, and on the humour the King of Prussia happens to be in at the time he receives them, without reflecting on the consequences; for I yet see no symptom of His Prussian Majesty's having altered his Opinion, nor have I been able to discover that that Prince has adopted any other system than that of waiting to profit of Events as they may happen.

In this situation of Affairs I, therefore, cannot help admiring your Lordship's Answer to Count Maltzan, viz^t. *That it did not become His Majesty at this time to make an Offer of joint Mediation, at the requisition of a third Power, unless it was desired by the Court of Petersburg itself.*

I have, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

LETTER DXXII.

Lord Rochford to Sir Andrew Mitchell. The Expulsion of Mr. Wilks from the House of Commons.

[IBID. vol. xxi. fol. 27. Orig.]

Whitehall, 7th. Feb. 1769.

SIR,

HAVING nothing particular at present in command from His Majesty, I write only to have the satisfaction of acquainting you that on Friday last the expulsion of Mr. Wilks from the House of Commons was determined by a Majority of 219 to 137, which it is to be hoped will undeceive Foreign Courts with regard to the embarrassment they might suppose would continue to be given to Government by that turbulent spirit.

I am, with great truth and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ROCHFORD.

P. S. Your Letters to No. 6. have been received and laid before His Majesty.

Sir Andrew Mitchell.

LETTER DXXIII.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to Lord Cathcart at St. Petersburg. Baron Dimsdale's reception at Potsdam.

[IBID. vol. vii. fol. 211.]

Berlin, Saturday, 22 April, 1769.

MY LORD,

SINCE my last of the 14th. of March I am honoured with your Excellency's Note of the 17th. February, O. S., enclosing the printed Account of the advantages obtained over the Tartars by the Russians, and on the 11th. instant Baron Dimsdale arrived here and delivered to me your Excellency's two Letters, and I have since received that of the $\frac{17^{\text{th}}}{28^{\text{th}}}$ March by Post.

Baron Dimsdale was in so great a hurry to get home, that with the utmost difficulty I prevailed with him to stay two days here, and for that purpose was obliged to read to him the paragraph in your Excellency's Letter that concerned himself, with which he was highly pleased. On Wednesday the 12th. he delivered Count Solm's Packet to Count Finckenstein, and the next day in the evening he was desired by an express message from the King of Prussia to come to Potsdam, as his Prussian Majesty wanted to see him. Accordingly the Baron set out for that place on the 14th. instant, and I have no doubt he will be very well received.

So far I had written to go by the last Post, but delayed finishing my Letter till I should get an account from Baron Dimsdale of his reception at Potzdam, which I have now received in a Letter from that Gentleman, dated the 16th, from Magdeburg, and shall give it your Excellency in his own words:

“ On Saturday the 15th, in the morning, I was conducted in a coach with a person that spoke English to Sans Souci, where we arrived about ten o'clock, and, after waiting about an hour, was told that the King was gone to take a ride, but would see me on his return. At twelve the King returned, and I was ordered to go into his apartment. He met us at the door, and said in French, ‘ Sir, I think you inoculated the Empress and the Prince at Petersburgh ;’ I answered, ‘ Yes, an’t please your Majesty.’ All the answer he made was, ‘ I felicitate you on the occasion, and wish you a good journey.’ Then, turning short on his heel, he was gone in a moment.

“ I make no reflections on this reception, but leave you to judge of it from *this Relation*. Only it seems as if an Englishman was not in fashion there, for upon the whole his Majesty’s manner of speaking was far from being gracious.”

The singularity of this Reception would most certainly surprise me if I was less acquainted with the King of Prussia: however I cannot agree with the Baron that it was owing to his being an Englishman.

The affront was certainly to the Czarina and to Count Solm's recommendation.

The same want of Communication with regard to this Court's transactions, complained of in my former Letters to Your Excellency, still continues, and on my part I make no Advances, having received no Orders to that purpose, nor observed any symptom of a Change of Sentiments in the King of Prussia.

* * * * *

I have, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

LETTER DXXIV.

*Sir Andrew Mitchell to Lord Rochford. Count
Kamcke fond of Agriculture.*

[IBID. vol. vii. fol. 214 b.]

(*Private.*)

Berlin, 29th. April, 1769.

MY LORD,

COUNT KAMCKE, a gentleman of considerable rank and fortune in this Country, will deliver to your Lordship a Letter of mine of the seventh instant, wherein I took the liberty of introducing him to your Lordship. He is particularly curious in Agriculture, and his chief business in England he told me is to learn from the Farmers their Arts of Cultivation, &c. and for that purpose he proposes to retire into Yorkshire for some

time, and will lodge in the house of Christopher Brown at Nottingly near Ferrybridge in that County.

This Gentleman is a great projector, though in himself no conjuror; but as I have reason to suspect that part of his errand to Britain may be to engage useful and industrious artificers to transport themselves into this Country, I think it my duty to give your Lordship this particular notice, as well for the sake of the Publick, as for these unfortunate People, who may be deluded by fair promises to come abroad, which are seldom or never fulfilled in this Country.

I have, &c.

ANDREW MITCHELL.

LETTER DXXV.

Lord Rochford to Sir Andrew Mitchell. A Contest at the Ball at Court for precedence, between the French and Russian Ambassadors.

[IBID. vol. xxi. fol. 33.]

(*Private and Circular.*)

Whitehall, 13th June, 1769.

SIR,

I THINK it necessary to acquaint your Excellency of a disagreeable Affair which passed at the Ball at Court on the 5th. instant, and which you will no doubt have heard of through other channels.

The Russian Ambassador, coming in first, placed

himself on the bench next the Ladies; the Imperial Ambassador coming in soon after, Count Czernicheff very politely gave him the upper hand. Some time afterwards the French Ambassador coming in, stood before the Envoys' bench behind the Ambassadors. Count Czernicheff, turning round, entered into conversation with him, when, on a sudden, the French Ambassador stepped over the bench and pushed himself in with some violence between the Imperial and Russian Ambassadors. Some very warm words passed between Count Czernicheff and the French Ambassador, the former particularly treated him as *an Impertinent*. The Spanish Ambassador then coming in, and settling himself quietly amongst the Ladies, Count Chatelet beckoned to him to come and place himself next the Imperial Ambassador, on which the Russian Ambassador got up, and seated himself between Madame Maltzan and Madame Very. At going away some warm words again passed, and the Russian Ambassador following Count Chatelet, more high words ensued upon the staircase, and they both went together in the Russian Ambassador's coach.

The King, out of his great tenderness and humanity, ordered Lord Weymouth and myself to wait on the French and Russian Ambassadors to prevent any mischief happening, which was accordingly done.

On Tuesday morning Count Chatelet made a visit to the Russian Ambassador, and said how sorry he was such an affair had happened. The Russian Ambassa-

dor appears personally satisfied with the excuses made for the personal incivility, but considers his Court as highly insulted.

The two Ambassadors were desired by Lord Weymouth and me to consider the next Levee day as inconsequential with regard to Ceremony, till the King's pleasure was known on what had passed; and thus the affair remains between the Courts of Petersburg and France: but as the French Ambassador's violent proceedings on this occasion could not be agreeable, happening immediately in the Palace, a Note will be sent from the Lord Chamberlain to all the Foreign Ministers, notifying that the King does not expect there should be any Ceremony at a Court Ball, and when the Note is given, You shall have a copy of it.

I will make no Observations of my own upon this affair, but leave you to judge from the true state of it, who has been in the wrong. You must be sensible by the bold step of the French Ambassador, he got the *pas*. Whether the Russian will attempt to recover it on another occasion, I cannot pretend to determine.

I am, with great truth and respect,

Sir, your Excellency's

most obedient humble servant,

ROCHFORD.

P. S. Since writing the above the enclosed note has been sent to all the Foreign Ministers residing here.

ROCHFORD.

Sir Andrew Mitchell.

Copy.

“ THE Earl of Hertford Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty’s Household, has received His Majesty’s Commands to communicate to all the Ministers of Foreign Powers residing at this Court, that the Balls at St. James’s have ever been considered by the King as Private Balls, where no Precedence was to be observed. His Majesty conceives that a want of Information on this head may have given rise to unpleasant Altercations which this Notice must effectually prevent for the future.

9th. June, 1769.”

LETTER DXXVI.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to Lord Rochford. The King of Prussia’s approbation of General Paoli’s conduct.

[IBID. vol. vii. fol. 222.]

(Separate.)

Berlin, Saturday, 17th. June, 1769.

MY LORD,

THE first News from Italy of the brave Defence of the Corsicans and the Defeat of the French gave universal joy in this Country, and raised the expectation of all ranks of People, who naturally love liberty even though they do not enjoy it; but what is more particular, his Prussian Majesty, as I am informed, not only expressed great satisfaction at the ill success of the French, but high approbation of General Paoli’s conduct, and openly drank that gentleman’s health at his table. Whether this proceeded from his affection to the Corsicans and their cause, or from his hatred to the French, I shall not determine.

I have, &c.

ANDREW MITCHELL.

LETTER DXXVII.

*Sir Andrew Mitchell to Lord Rochford. His detail of
a Conversation with the King of Prussia.*

[IBID. vol. vii. fol. 227.]

(*Secret.*)

Berlin, Saturday, 15th. July, 1769.

MY LORD,

THE fit of the Gout with which the King of Prussia has been affected, appears not to have been so slight as was reported. He has the gout still in one of his hands, and his looks are visibly altered by it, but in other respects he seems to be very well.

I must now mention to your Lordship an incident which happened on the 13th. instant at Charlottenbourg. In the circle at the Queen's assembly his Prussian Majesty was pleased to distinguish me very particularly. He first led me into a window, and after talking some time there, he carried me into another room, where he made me sit down by him, and I believe our conversation lasted above a quarter of an hour ; towards the end of it the King of Prussia's two brothers, Princes Henry and Ferdinand, entered the Room, when his Prussian Majesty made them sit down by us. This must have been observed by all present, as the door of the room into which we had retired was left open ; and

some people remarked that his Prussian Majesty had taken little or no notice of the French Minister, whose behaviour has, hitherto, as far as I know, been very prudent and circumspect.

However little material the Conversation I had with the King of Prussia was, I shall acquaint your Lordship with the heads of it. That Monarch asked me about Wilks; I answered, his credit was greatly decayed, and he sunk in reputation; that the people of England were returning to their right senses, though there were not wanting some seditious men, who endeavoured to alarm them upon points equally frivolous as those of Wilks, but that I believed they could not succeed, as the grievances they complained of were imaginary, not real, and that in all popular Governments it had ever been the conduct of seditious men to captivate and deceive the people with specious pretences. His Prussian Majesty then talked of Corsica, and of the fate of Paoli with some tenderness, and of the advantages that might accrue to the French from the acquisition of that island. To this I replied that Paoli had many well-wishers in England, and his fate was greatly to be lamented, but that I could not see the advantages the French would reap from that Conquest whilst England remained superior at sea; that I had heard there were few or no sea-ports in Corsica the possession of which could not be maintained without great expense; that so soon as the French became

superior at sea, the ports of Marseilles, Toulon, and Antibes were sufficient for their purposes of intercepting the Levant trade, &c.

The next head the King of Prussia mentioned to me was concerning the English East India Company, the fall of their stock, and the danger they were supposed to be in from the attacks of the Indian Princes. To this I said that I really had no information but from the Newspapers, but that it appeared to me the Directors had acted with great good faith and prudence in producing publicly the despatches they had received from the Indies, and thereby preventing the further fall of the stock ; that the interest of many who wanted to purchase in at a low price had occasioned the sudden fall, upon the arrival of the first news from India ; that I gave very little credit to the reports printed in the Newspapers concerning Indian affairs, as there was much to be got by sinking the price of stock, and that besides the French, Dutch, and other nations, jealous of the advantages the English had in the East Indies, greedily embraced and propagated every report that could hurt the English Company, &c. ; that I had no doubt the French were endeavouring to do us all the mischief they could in the Indies, but as this was naturally to be expected, I hoped and believed his Majesty's Ministers would give the greatest attention to every transaction that could in any wise affect so important a branch of Commerce.

The last question the King of Prussia asked me was, whether we had any hopes of settling our American affairs. I answered we had good hopes, that I had heard a Plan was actually preparing for that purpose, though no part of it had yet been communicated to me.

Thus I have minutely stated to your Lordship every thing worth mentioning that passed between his Prussian Majesty and me, but can draw no conclusion from it with regard to a Change of sentiments. Perhaps the whole that has happened may have been a scene calculated to mortify the French Minister at this Court.

I have, &c.

ANDREW MITCHELL.

LETTER DXXVIII.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to Lord Rochford. The King of Prussia's " Dialogue de Morale." His Majesty takes Medicines of his own prescription.

[IBID. fol. 274 b.]

Berlin, Saturday, 31st. March, 1770.

MY LORD,

SINCE my Letter of the 27th. nothing has occurred

here worth writing, and I take the liberty to transmit to your Lordship some Copies of a little Piece entitled "Dialogue de Morale à l'usage de la jeune Noblesse," which was published here two days ago, and is said to be of the King of Prussia's composition.

I have now the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that his Prussian Majesty is in a fair way of recovery from a very severe fit of the Gout, with which he was attacked last week.

The King of Prussia's indisposition proved more serious than was apprehended. He was seized, I am told, with a fit of the gout and the emerods at the same time; but that monarch is now thought out of all danger, into which he had thrown himself by the taking of some medicines of his own prescription, and by what I have heard was in more danger from the medicines than from the distempers, of which, however, I have not yet learnt any accurate account.^a

I have, &c.

ANDREW MITCHELL.

^a The King of Prussia's recovery is noticed in several subsequent Letters.

In one to Lord Rochford, dated Berlin, Saturday 26th. May, 1770, Sir Andrew says "Two days ago was published here a Pamphlet entitled *Examen de l'Essai sur les Préjugés*, a book which has made much noise in France, which I have yet hardly time to read, but the *Examen* is worth Your Lordship's looking into, for I am well assured it is of the King of Prussia's own writing, though I cannot guess at the reason of publishing it."

LETTER DXXIX.

*Lord Barrington to Sir Andrew Mitchell. The Entry
of Lord North into Administration.*

[IBID. vol. XXXV. fol. 79. Orig.]

Cavendish Square, April 24th. 1770.

* * * * *

THOUGH I can send you no very agreeable Account of what is doing here, I can say with truth that in my opinion things are in many respects better than they were. Lord North bids fairer for making an able and good Minister than any man we have had a great while, Lord Chatham excepted, whose conduct this winter has cancelled many of the obligations this Country owed him for his services in Administration.

I think also that our heats are subsiding, and that men are coming to their senses.

When I can draw a like and at the same time a pleasing Picture of our situation, you shall be again reminded of, dear Sir,

Your ever faithful and affectionate

BARRINGTON.

LETTER DXXX.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to Lord Rochford. The French advise the Pretender to go to the English Colonies.

[IBID. vol. vii. fol. 281 b.]

(*Private.*) Berlin, Saturday, 26th. May, 1770.

MY LORD,

I HAVE received certain Notice that the King of Prussia, one day last week, at his own table at Potzdam, told as a piece of news which he had received from his agent at Rome, that the Duke of Choiseul had advised the Pretender to go to the English Colonies, which he had rejected with great indignation and contempt.

These are all the particulars I know.

I have, &c.

ANDREW MITCHELL.

LETTER DXXXI.

Lord Barrington to Sir Andrew Mitchell. The general state of Affairs. Wilks and the Bill of Rights forgotten.

[IBID. vol. xxxv. fol. 71.]

Cavendish Square, Jan. 10th. 1771.

* * * * *

I HAVE not taken upon me to inform you of what has passed here since you left us; for little has happened that you would read or I could write with pleasure.

Things at home are much mended in the course of last year. Wilks and the Bill of Rights are entirely forgotten, except now and then when the wild and wicked wretches who composed that seditious faction abuse each other in print. They have openly quarrelled, and spare each other as little as they spared better men.

The Country and the Metropolis are perfectly quiet.

The King (though most shamefully attacked in newspapers with a licentiousness which his Servants are very blamable to suffer) gains ground in the opinion and esteem of his People, and the Ministry though not highly rated is not disliked. If our Armies, Fleets, and Finances, are not exactly what the Nation wishes them to be, they are certainly in better condition than those of our Neighbours; and if, contrary to my wishes, we must go to War about a most trifling object,^a I do not see that we have much to fear.

* * * * *

Your old and sincere friend the Writer of this Letter, has not had a moment's illness since he saw you; and has felt but little disquiet from the abuse he has long undergone in common with his betters.

Adieu, my dear Sir Andrew, believe me ever with the most perfect truth and affection

Your most faithful and
obedient humble servant,

BARRINGTON.

^a Lord Barrington alludes to the Dispute with Spain concerning Falkland's Islands.

LETTER DXXXII.

*The Rev. Dr. Lort to Mr. Cole. Lord Chatham has
a Fit in the House of Lords.*

[MS. COLE, vol. xxiv. fol. 154 b.]

London, April 8, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

* * * * *

I WAS in the House of Lords when Lord Chatham fell down in a fit: from which he is not yet well recovered. I have no doubt that the Duke of Richmond's pointed attack upon him was the principal cause: though the heat and effluvia of a very crowded house must have also cooperated.

* * * * *

Adieu.

M. L.

LETTER DXXXIII.

*Mrs. Bristow to General Washington, respecting a
Memorial in favour of her Son, an infant, whose
hereditary estates in America had been confiscated.*

[FROM A VOLUME OF *Orig.* LETTERS BEQUEATHED TO THE BRITISH
MUSEUM BY THE LATE JOHN WILMOT, ESQ.]

* * * Long before this Letter had reached its address, General Washington had resigned his commission, and had withdrawn into the shade of

M M 2

private life. He forwarded Mrs. Bristow's Memorial, without delay, to the Governor of Virginia; and his final Letter, at the end of two years, to a person with whom he had no acquaintance, does credit both to his head and to his heart.

Spring Garden, London, 27th. Nov. 1783.

SIR,

THE high character I have heard of your Excellency emboldens me to take the liberty of addressing a few lines to you (though I have not the honour of being personally known to you) in behalf of my Son.

The Copy of a Memorial and Petition addressed to the Governor, the Senate, and House of Delegates of the State of Virginia, which I have the honour to enclose to your Excellency from myself and the two gentlemen who are joint Guardians with me, will convince you of the justice of our cause and claim.

You, Sir, I am told, have children of your own, therefore can more easily imagine than I describe what a parent must feel on seeing her only son, a child of now but ten years old, deprived of so large a property, which has been in his family for so many years; and his father dying seven years ago, he will have three sisters' fortunes to pay, which of course were left in proportion.

Your Excellency, from your noble character and abilities, must have great weight with the Legislature. Let me entreat you by all the ties of honour, justice, and humanity, to support the Petition. Consider, Sir, my child's tender age made it impossible for him to do

any act inimical to the Country ; and the laws of every State (I have always understood) are formed to protect, and not to prejudice Infant Property.

May I hope you will not think me too presuming if I request the honour of a line to let me know this has reached your hands. I will not further intrude on your time, but beg leave to subscribe myself with great respect,

Your Excellency's
most obedient humble servant,

M. BRISTOW.

His Excellency General Washington.

LETTER DXXXIV.

General Washington to Mrs. Bristow in return.

[IBID. *Orig.*]

Mount Vernon (in Virginia), 15th. June, 1784.

MADAM,

YOUR Letter and the Duplicate of it, dated the 27th. of last November, with the Petition to the Assembly of this State, only came to my hands the 10^h. instant. By the following Post I transmitted them to the Governor, as the Legislature was then sitting at Richmond.

What effect the Application may have on that Body, is not for me, at this time, to announce. It is to be

feared however, as the lands were involved in the act of general confiscation, previous to the Preliminary Articles of Peace, that unless there is something in the case more discriminating than Minority (which I understand is not an exclusion in the law) You will receive very little redress. But from any thing I know at present of the issue (if a determination has been had upon the subject) I can furnish you with no information on which to ground either Hope or Fear. If it were the latter, it would afford cause for regret that minors and innocent persons who have not aided or abetted the Contest should have become sufferers by it. This, however, is but too often the case in civil, as well as other Commotions.

I have not delayed a moment, Madam, to acknowledge, after they came to my hands, the receipt of your Letter and Petition, and shall have great pleasure in announcing the favourable issue of the latter, if the fact will warrant it.

With great respect, I have
the honour to be, Madam,
your most humble servant,
G. WASHINGTON.

Mrs. Bristow.

LETTER DXXXV.

General Washington to Mrs. Bristow. The final Answer upon the decision made by the Assembly of Virginia.

[IBID. Orig.]

Mount Vernon, 2^d. June, 1786.

MADAM,

THOUGH small were the services I rendered you, consequent of your first Application to me, yet it behoves me to add, in answer to your favour of the 15th of December last, that it was all I then had, or now have in my power to offer. For having no share in the Legislative or Executive concerns of this Country, I could do no more than to bring your Petition before the former. This I did by a letter to the Governor enclosing it. What the ultimate determination of the Assembly was respecting this matter, I am unable with precision to inform you. Generally I was given to understand, that however hard the case might appear to be, it was to be ascribed to the nature of the contest in which we had been oppressively involved; and though to be lamented as a misfortune, was not to be attributed as a fault in the Justice of this Country, since it was difficult, if not impracticable, to draw a line between

the promoters and actors, and innocent victims of the War in a national point of view.

How far the reasoning is good I shall not take upon me to decide, but with much truth may assure you that I can readily enter into your feelings on this occasion, and sincerely wish that those who were the Contrivers and Abettors, were alone to be the Sufferers by the War.

I have the honour to be, Madam,
your most obedient and very humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

Mrs. Bristow.

LETTER DXXXVI.

*The Right Hon. Edmund Burke to John Wilmot, Esq.
on the Subscriptions raised for the Relief of the
French Emigrant Clergy.*

[IBID. Orig.]

SIR,

I WISH my stay in town would have permitted me to attend further in the Committee, and to offer the little assistance I could give to forward their very laudable designs. I could do little more than to offer to the gentlemen of the Committee, and to You, my best acknowledgments for the unwearied application

which all of you, and most particularly yourself, have shown to this Charity, which, as long as it is conducted according to the ideas of the gentlemen of the committee, at once prudent and liberal, must redound infinitely to the honour of the National Character. It is for that reason I beg leave most earnestly to recommend it to them to consider only what they themselves think proper to be done. I know the sentiments of many of the most considerable subscribers; and I can speak it with perfect certainty, that they repose the most unbounded confidence in the Committee, and do not think them at all responsible to any other persons than to them, the subscribers, for any thing they may do. Above all they do not think themselves responsible to the anonymous scribblers of paragraphs in the Newspapers. They wish that no man should give an account of his own free bounty. If the contrary opinion and practice should prevail, Charity would be put under the direction of Malevolence. We know of no Public to which we are accountable, because it is a vague name; and a sort of fictitious tribunal, before which we never can be acquitted. Above all we do not submit to the idea, that it should be represented by the Newspapers. Therefore, I for one (and I am authorized to speak for more than one), entreat that nothing which can be said in them should prevent you from giving that substantial and effectual relief to the objects of your charity, which respect to their persons and their

comfortable subsistence absolutely requires. I cannot bear the thoughts of their being (as I believe two hundred of them are) thrown like carcasses upon one another, two of them in a miserable little bed, and in some cases three; that some of them have been ten days without having their shirt washed. The inconvenience of nursing loathsome, and often dangerous disease with health, besides many other obvious inconveniences which result from this mode of lodging, makes me most earnest that Relief should be given against it. This inconvenient mode, I knew, had arisen originally from the number who crowded in at once, and could not otherwise be disposed of, but it is continued, from the insufficiency of the limited allowance to answer all the purposes of life in any manner whatsoever. I confess I wish too that attention may be had to their clothes, which having been originally taken up as a disguise whilst they were hunted down in France, here exposes them to the scorn and derision instead of the compassion of the populace. Besides, their dispersion renders it difficult for them to be kept under the inspection of their superiors, a case necessary to their existence. For if but one person in so many Hundreds should be betrayed into any irregularity, a thing which nothing but a most vigilant discipline can possibly prevent, all the worthy, sober and religious part would be exposed to public odium, and the whole object of this laudable association would be defeated.

Mankind is at all times naturally apt to construe these things but too liberally, and to extend guilt ; but now, that natural disposition to scandal is reduced to System. I look on some irregularity not happening before this time with the greatest astonishment. But without the last degree of care it must happen.

Therefore, pray, whilst we have a shilling, let us trust to that Providence, which has hitherto so liberally supplied us, for the rest, and spare no rational and prudent expense to forward the wishes of the principals of their Clergy, in methodizing and arranging their people under what they aim at, the most rigid discipline. I fear else every inconvenience, and things I dread to think of.

You will excuse the trouble I give you ; but your benevolence has induced you to go through a great deal of it. I have the honour to be, with a most sincere respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient

and humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

Duke Street, October 2^d. 1792.

John Wilmot, Esq.

LETTER DXXXVII.

The Right Hon. Edm. Burke to John Wilmot, Esq.

[IBID. *Orig.*]

* * A few months before this Letter was written, Mr. Burke had lost his only son. Richard Burke, Esq. succeeded his father in the representation of the borough of Malton, but did not live to take his seat in the House of Commons. He died August the 2^d. 1794.

It is to this same affliction that Mr. Burke alludes in his Letter to the Duke of Bedford, published Feb. 24th. 1796. "The storm has gone over me; and I lie like one of those old Oaks which the late hurricane has scattered about me. I am stripped of all my honours; I am torn up by the roots, and lie prostrate on the earth."

DEAR SIR,

I AM exceedingly flattered by the compassionate sentiments that you are pleased to entertain of a desolate, afflicted, and useless person, who, for a while, and in a little way, acted a part under you, in the generous care you have taken of the sufferers in our common cause, and who are, I am greatly afraid, only our precursors in misfortune.

It has pleased the Great Disposer of all things to give them, for a short space at least, for an asylum, such a Country as this; and for a Protector a person of such zeal and humanity as you possess. Where our asylum will be, when our hour is come, and who will be the person to succour and console us, are things hid in the deep mystery of future dispensation. I see the

danger, but I do not see the method or the way of an escape.

It seems decided, that some great change is to take place in the whole of human affairs. The only thing which appears to me consolatory, is, the magnanimity of the King and the two Houses. We have still, and so have some other nations, resources enough, if we have the spirit and the skill to use them. If I thought that they who find no resource but in submission to a most cruel and implacable, and now the most powerful Enemies that this Nation ever had, acted only from pusillanimity, we might have hopes, that necessity might generate courage. But I know that they are of another character ; indeed, men bold and confident in the extreme. When, therefore, in a conflict, I see the bold playing the part of the feeble and pusillanimous, I do not consider them as shrinking from an enemy, but as acting in his favour. This is very alarming : and the more so as, for the first time in our struggle with France, (whatever form it might appear in) its dangerous power and extravagant ambition has disunited our Councils and weakened our Efforts.

But I still praise the wisdom and the spirit of those who resist the great dangers that environ us both from without and from within.

God may, whilst these dissensions last, raise up some great military character to save us. The paper which was sent to me under your frank, though purporting

to be a sort of manifesto from a Royalist Lieutenant-General (if he is at all, or a Royalist) has not added to my hopes of the appearance of such a Character. I forget this man's name, and I have little desire to recur to his paper to find it, though, I believe, it may be on my table.

I trust in God, whilst we have so many excellent and sound French Emigrant Officers, we shall not, in any way, great or small, employ a person capable of writing such miserable, vapouring, and empty stuff.

Once more a thousand thanks for your indulgent remembrance, and believe me ever,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful

and obliged humble servant,

EDM. BURKE.

Feb. 6, 1795.

J. Wilmot, Esq.

LETTER DXXXVIII.

Mr. Burke to John Wilmot, Esq.

[IBID.]

DEAR SIR,

So far as I am acquainted with the Debates, which is very imperfectly, I agree with you in opinion about their spirit and tendency.

The people, as you say, ought to be made to know their danger in its full extent; not only its nearness but its true nature.

They ought not be lulled into security.

To debate the question of Peace at all, in our circumstances, is not a good symptom; but to suffer it to be debated, as a thing within our choice, looks almost desperate. In one sense, to be sure, it is in our choice. We may have it on the Terms on which Holland, and the Austrian Netherlands, and the Countries on the Lower Rhine enjoy it.

I am but a poor judge of Official arrangements: I hear of them late and irregularly, and so mixed with true and false reports, that I hardly know what to make of them. If the Duke of York be at the head of the Army, as you say he is, I am not at all sorry for it, provided he has good support and a good military Council. I have a very high opinion of him, and his rank (still if properly supported) will be of great use in keeping that great machine in order. As to experience, he has more than enough. The World has been undone by looking to experience, in a case to which no experience applies. He is as old a man, I believe, and has as much experience as Pichegru. We want energy, we want enterprise, much more than we want experience; for if that could have saved Europe, it was full of old officers. In a case like ours I have no opinion at all of old men. If nothing can be done by

the young, nothing can be done at all. I verily believe there is not, in the Government of France, or in the Command of its Armies, a man of above five and thirty.

I have the honour to be, with the most sincere respect,

Yours ever,

EDM. BURKE.

Feb. 12th. 1795.

J. Wilmot, Esq.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Vol. i. p. 268, l. 22, *for* "the redemption," *r.* "general redemption."

Vol. ii. p. 12, Anne Boleyn's Letter should be addressed,

"Mons^r. Mons^r. de Boullan
mon pere."

Vol. iii. p. 203, l. 4 of note, *r.* "relates to."

209, l. 3, *for* "Ser Rode," *r.* "Ser Rope."

LONDON:

PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.







Ellis, Sir Henry

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AUTHOR

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vol.4

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